

After Tut 'ankhamūn

Research and Excavation
in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes



Edited by C.N. Reeves

AFTER TUT'ANKHAMŪN



Studies in Egyptology

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After Tut'ankhamūn

Research and excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes

Edited and with an introduction by
C N REEVES

Foreword by
the Earl of Carnarvon

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Foreword

The Earl of Carnarvon



On Friday, 15 June, 1990, it was my pleasure to welcome to Highclere more than one hundred and fifty delegates travelling from as far afield as Egypt, America, and Japan to attend *After Tut'ankhamūn*, the first ever conference devoted to the archaeology of the Valley of the Kings. For the Carnarvon family, and for Highclere itself, the occasion was special — an anniversary; for seventy-five years before, in 1915, my grandfather and Howard Carter had embarked upon their search for Tut'ankhamūn, a search destined to be crowned with such stunning success eight years later. What has happened in the Valley of the Kings since that discovery was the theme of our meeting, a theme addressed over the following two days by an international panel of leading Egyptologists. Timing, fine weather, excellent company — and the rare privilege of being able to exhibit a choice selection of Egyptian antiquities from the collections of Her Majesty the Queen — all combined to create a success of which the present volume will stand as a lasting and worthy reminder.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Carnarvon'. The script is fluid and cursive, with a large initial 'C' and a long, sweeping tail.



PLATE I *After Tut'ankhamūn*, 15–17 June 1990 (left to right): Kent R. Weeks, Edwin C. Brock, Edward F. Wente, Marianne Eaton-Krauss, Friedrich Abitz, John H. Taylor (Lord and Lady Carnarvon standing behind, to his right), Nicholas Reeves (Conference organizer), Claude Vanderlseyen, Hartwig Altenmüller, Erik Hornung, Donald P. Ryan, Jiro Kondo, J. R. Harris, and John Rose. *Photo: courtesy Highclere Castle.*

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The Editor would like to express his gratitude to: the Conference's hosts, the Earl and Countess of Carnarvon, for their encouragement and continuing support; the ever-willing staff of Highclere Castle; Abercrombie and Kent Travel, London, and Archaeologia Books, Oakland, California, sponsors of the Conference; Cadmus Legal Education, London, and particularly Nicole Rollo; Kegan Paul International, London; and Peter Weeks Associates, Highclere. Special thanks are due to the speakers, Friedrich Abitz, Professor Hartwig Altenmüller, Edwin C. Brock, Professor J. R. Harris, Professor Erik Hornung, Jiro Kondo, Dr Marianne Eaton-Krauss, Dr John Rose, Dr Donald P. Ryan, Dr John H. Taylor, Professor Claude Vandersleyen, Dr Kent R. Weeks, and Dr Edward F. Wente. Acknowledgement is made also to Dr M. L. Bierbrier, T. G. H. James, Professor G. T. Martin and Dr Catharine Roehrig for chairing the four sessions; Claire Reeves for her invaluable help in the planning and realization of the event; and, for assistance in matters of translation, Dr Eleni Vassilika.

For the privilege of being able to display at the Conference a selection of antiquities from the Royal Collection, grateful thanks are due to Her Majesty the Queen. The loan was arranged through the good offices of Sir Geoffrey de Bellaigue, Director of the Royal Collection.



PLATE II The Library, Highclere Castle. *Photo: Arnaud Carpentier*

Abbreviations

<i>AcOr</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (Copenhagen)
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte</i>
<i>BIE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l’Institut égyptien</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale</i>
<i>BM EA</i>	British Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d’Égyptologie, Genève</i>
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d’Égyptologie</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> (Cambridge, 19 –)
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d’Égypte</i>
<i>CG</i>	Catalogue général, Egyptian Museum, Cairo
<i>DB</i>	Deir el-Bahri
<i>GI</i>	Griffith Institute, Oxford
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>JE</i>	Journal d’Entrée, Egyptian Museum, Cairo
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JGS</i>	<i>Journal of Glass Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>KV</i>	Kings’ Valley
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i>
<i>NARCE</i>	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>o</i>	ostracon
<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>
<i>PM</i>	B. Porter, R. L. B. Moss, et al., <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> (Oxford, 1927–)
<i>QV</i>	Queens’ Valley
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d’Égyptologie</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>TT</i>	Theban tomb
<i>UC</i>	University College, London
<i>Urk.IV</i>	K. Sethe & W. Helck, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, IV) (Leipzig–Berlin, 1906–58)
<i>WV</i>	West Valley
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptischer Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

Introduction

C N REEVES

THE 'golden age' of digging in Egypt's Valley of the Kings spanned the quarter century between 1898 and the discovery of the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn in 1922. But there had been archaeological explorations in the Valley before that date and, what is not so well-known, there has been a great deal of important work carried out there since. Before 1922, the emphasis had been on the discovery of *things*. After Tut'ankhamūn, priorities changed; the emphasis now is on the recovery of *information*, in pursuit of which yesterday's debris is being probed in ever-increasing detail, with a greater yield of information than our forebears would have thought possible.

Recent work in and on the Valley of the Kings was the theme of the *After Tut'ankhamūn* conference held at Highclere Castle in Hampshire between 15–17 June 1990. No more appropriate or atmospheric venue for this event could have been wished for: indeed, the fifth Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter did much of the planning for their excavations in the same magnificent room — the Library — in which the conference was held; and no better timing, since it had been seventy-five years before, in 1915, that the pair first embarked upon their search for Tut'ankhamūn.

Venue and timing, however, were merely icing on the Conference cake. The meeting owed its principal success to the quality of its speakers, each of whom had carried out practical excavation in, or significant research on, an aspect of the site under discussion. Their papers, reproduced in this volume, not only reflect the current, burgeoning interest in Valley studies, but serve to point the way for future progress. Much, to be sure, has been achieved, but it is clear that much remains to be done — in salvage archaeology of the most careful and painstaking kind, in epigraphy, in the fields of conservation and restoration, in study, interpretation and assessment, and above all in the matter of publication. If this volume achieves nothing more than correcting Theodore Davis's view, still widely held, that 'the Valley of the Tombs is now exhausted', it will more than have served its purpose. If it should inspire others to join or support the work, then so much the better.

Royal Mummies of the Eighteenth Dynasty:

A Biologic and Egyptological Approach

EDWARD F. WENTE and JAMES E. HARRIS

IN describing the mummy identified as that of Sethos II (CG 61081), G. Elliot Smith states:

There is little resemblance to the other XIXth Dynasty Pharaohs in Seti IInd's features, but they recall in a striking manner those of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The small, narrow, high-bridged aquiline nose is not unlike that of Amenothos II and Thoutmosis IV. The marked projection of the upper teeth and the hanging lower jaw are other points of resemblance to the royal family of the preceding dynasty, and of contrast to the orthognathous heavy-jawed XIXth Dynasty rulers.¹

Indeed it was in this same 1912 publication of the royal mummies that Smith suggested that x-rays might be useful in the study 'of the [unwrapped] mummy of Amenothos I, which would show the positions of his arms'.² This early mention of x-rays as a tool in the study of the royal mummies preceded the introduction of x-ray cephalometry developed by B. H. Broadbent in 1931, providing the means whereby the craniofacial skeleton could not only be visualized, but also readily and accurately quantified. This x-ray approach was developed particularly for clinical use, and hence it has special application to intact mummies which still have wrappings and soft tissues present. It remained, however, for the arrival of the high-speed computer with adequate memory and suitable programs to permit the meaningful biologic inspection and interpretation of the large array of measurable variables which characterize craniofacial variation.

Nevertheless, the greater conceptual advancements have been in the development and understanding of the polygenetic model of continuously variable traits or characters permitting the study of craniofacial and dental variation. William Schull has stated: 'As long as growth and development continue to be measured as they have been measured, the writer finds great difficulty in justifying an approach other than a multivariate one.'³

Since the family represents a major resource in understanding human malocclusion and growth and development, a series of investigations was undertaken at the University of Michigan to enhance our understanding of the inheritance of the craniofacial skeleton, particularly in the nuclear family.⁴ These studies revealed that measurable variables (angular, linear ratios) representing the craniofacial

skeletons of siblings aggregated around the geometric midpoint (average) between the parents. The average correlation coefficient for the craniofacial measurements was close to the theoretic correlation ($r = 0.5$) that would be expected between members of the nuclear family (parent-siblings, siblings). The point is that this heritability model of the craniofacial complex dictates that members of the nuclear family will be more similar than non-related individuals. The biologic assumptions and conclusions of the study of the pharaohs of Egypt are based upon this fundamental concept.

Since this polygenetic model is continuous and not discontinuous as in discrete characters or traits often associated with Mendelian concepts, it should be recalled that this type of inheritance has been traditionally described in terms of probability, not as an 'all or nothing' phenomenon. Therefore, in this paper the relationship between nuclear members of the New Kingdom royal families will be defined as probable or improbable, likely or not likely, and a coefficient of probability or correlation may be assigned with values ranging from 0.00 to ± 0.99 .

The techniques employed in the re-examination of the royal mummies in the Cairo Museum are all based upon precisely oriented lateral cephalometric x-rays of each head, wrapped or unwrapped. The resulting x-ray cephalograms were traced twice by skilled technicians and superimposed on an x-ray viewbox to determine the error of reproducibility. These tracings were then digitized and scanned after Walker and Kowalski's method and the resulting x, y coordinates digitized and read into the computer.⁵ From this computer base of 177 points for each x-ray, it is possible to generate a contour map for the craniofacial complex and any linear or angular variable (see pl. 3).

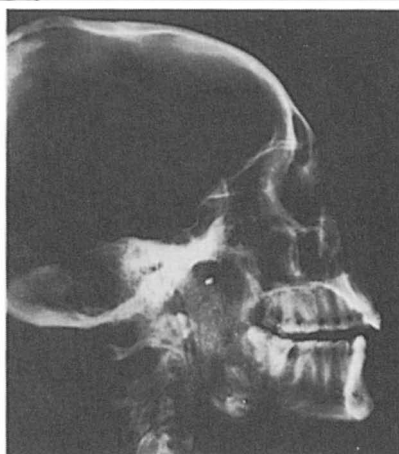
In this way craniofacial variation can be both visualized and quantified when comparing any set or sets of data, representing in this case kings and queens of the New Kingdom. In this study, those variables were selected that had best captured shape and position of components of the craniofacial complex and had minimized size differences. For example, these variables represented the shape of the mandible, maxilla, cranial base, the relationship of the maxilla to the mandible, and the relationship of the mandible to the cranial base.

Returning to Sethos II as an illustration, let us recall that Elliot Smith observed that Sethos II was much more similar to Eighteenth Dynasty royal mummies than to the Nineteenth Dynasty ones. Utilizing a cluster analysis and a dendogram, one can see the craniofacial similarity shared by Sethos II, Tuthmosis II, and Tuthmosis III. Here the biostatistics simply reflect what a trained observer would discern in comparing the cephalometric x-rays or the computer drawn tracings (see figs 1 and 2).

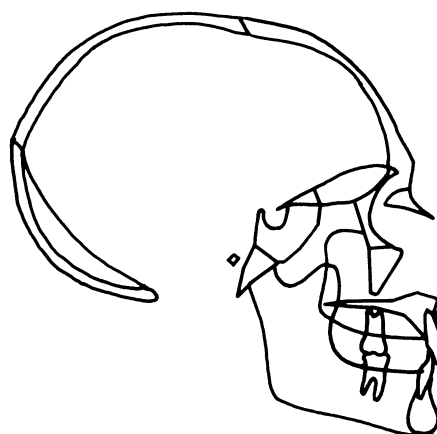
A similar clustering of craniofacial morphological characteristics is discernible in the case of three other mummies: the Tuthmosis IV mummy (CG 61073), the body in KV 55 (CG 61075), and Tut'ankhamūn's mummy. In connection with the skeleton of the occupant of KV 55, which was neatly 'laid out', so to speak, in a re-examination of the remains in 1984, it should be stressed that only one body is involved, with no confusion as suggested by C. N. Reeves.⁶ During the examination it was possible to remount the mandible correctly so that the craniofacial morphology of the skull from KV 55 resembles that of Tut'ankhamūn even



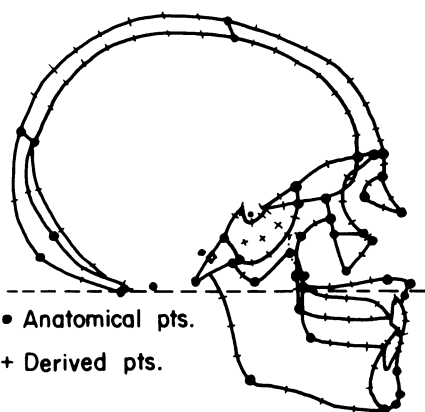
a.



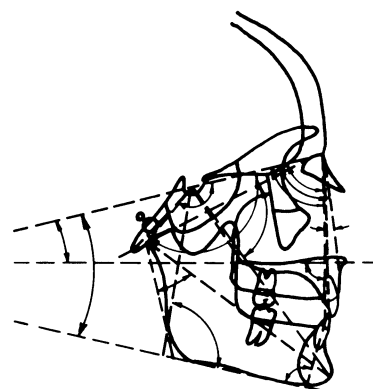
b.



c.



d.



e.

PLATE III Cephalometric technique: (a) head of mummy (Tuthmosis (Thutmose) IV); (b) lateral x-ray cephalogram of mummy; (c) tracing of x-ray; (d) digitized tracing; (e) linear and angular measurements generated from computerized tracings.

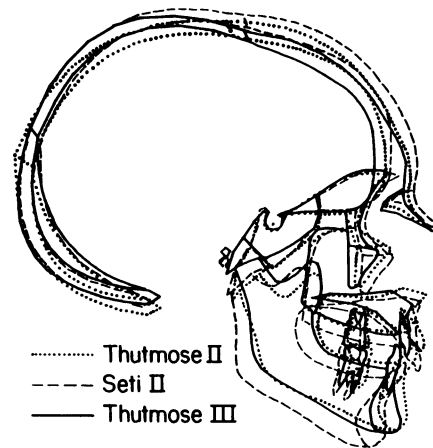


FIGURE 1 Cephalometric tracings of the lateral x-ray cephalograms of Sethos (Seti) II compared to Tuthmosis (Thutmose) II and Tuthmosis (Thutmose) III superimposed on the anterior cranial base.

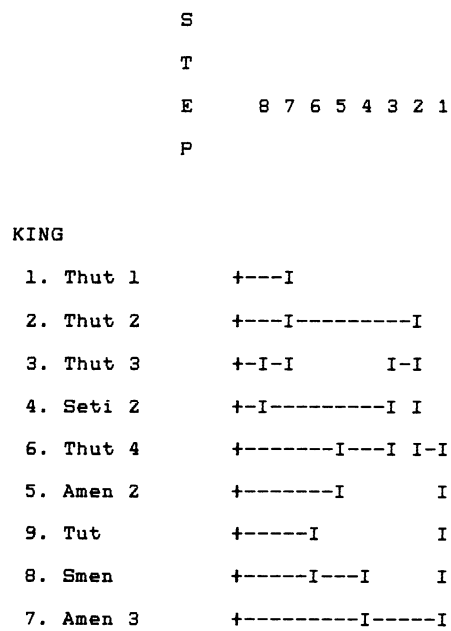


FIGURE 2 A cluster analysis indicating morphologic similarity between Tuthmosis (Thutmose) III and Sethos (Seti) II.

more closely than we had previously believed. Tuthmosis IV's craniofacial morphology is more similar to that of the KV 55 skull and Tut'ankhamūn than to any other pharaohs. Also it should be noted that the re-examination of the remains from KV 55 indicate that the skeleton, which could be studied more extensively than heretofore, is that of a slight individual in the age range of 30–35 years.⁷ On the basis of physical anthropological criteria alone one cannot achieve absolute certainty in sexing these human remains, but the probability is about 75–80% that they are those of a male.

Another royal mummy that has also been recently re-examined is that of Amenophis III (CG 61074). The craniofacial morphology of this mummy, which stands in stark contrast to that of the skull from KV 55 (CG 61075) and Tut'ankhamūn, does bear a remarkable resemblance to the facial characteristics of sculptured portraits of Akhenaten, and, as in Akhenaten's portraits, the head of this mummy is disproportionately large in relation to the height of the body.⁸ A second point to be noted is the extensive damage to the body resulting from a brutal attack made upon it, quite different from the sort of damage generally wrought upon the other royal mummies by tomb robbers in search of valuable jewellery. If there is a case of *damnatio memoriae* to be found among the royal mummies, the mummy identified as that of Amenophis III (CG 61074) is a primary candidate for such wilful desecration.

On the basis of our current understanding of craniofacial inheritance, the following four royal mummies present serious problems regarding their currently accepted identifications:

- (1) Amosis I (CG 61057), who is not acceptable either as the biologic son of Seqenenrē Tao II (CG 61051) or as the biologic father of Amenophis I (CG 61058), both of whom possess very similar craniofacial morphologies.
- (2) Amenophis II (CG 61069), who is the least likely candidate to be the biologic son of Tuthmosis III (CG 61068) unless his mother, Queen Ḥatshepsut-Meryetrē, had an affair while her husband Tuthmosis III was off campaigning.⁹ Amenophis II (CG 61069) is also not an acceptable biologic father of Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073) in a father–son–grandson cluster of Tuthmosis III–Amenophis II–Tuthmosis IV (CG 61068, 61069, 61073). It is also highly improbable that the mummy identified as that of Amenophis II (CG 61069) is the biologic father of the body found in KV 55 (CG 61075) or of Tut'ankhamūn.
- (3) Amenophis III (CG 61074), who is neither an acceptable candidate as the biologic son of Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073) nor the biologic father of the body from KV 55 (CG 61075) or of Tut'ankhamūn. While some scholars would assign this mummy to the Twenty-first Dynasty on the basis of techniques of mummification,¹⁰ the packing of the body is only superficially similar to the stuffing of mummies as practised during the Twenty-first Dynasty.¹¹ It has been confirmed in our recent examination of the tendons in the arms of this mummy that the arms were originally crossed, as observed by Smith.¹² This fact militates against a Twenty-first Dynasty date since mummies of this period do not display crossing of arms.¹³

Moreover, the cache of royal mummies from the tomb of Amenophis II, where this mummy was found, contained no mummies of demonstrable Twenty-first Dynasty date. Of all the kings whose mummies we possess, only the Amenophis II mummy (CG 61069) is a probable candidate as the biologic father of the Amenophis III mummy (CG 61074).

(4) Sethos II (CG 61081), who is an unlikely biologic son of Merenptah (CG 61079) or grandson of Ramesses II (CG 61078). While Smith, as quoted above, saw in Sethos II's mummy (CG 61079) a similarity to Amenophis II (CG 61069) and Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073), there is rather an especially striking similarity in craniofacial morphology to the mummy identified as that of Tuthmosis III (CG 61068), suggesting that the Sethos II mummy (CG 61081) should be placed among the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty rulers (see fig. 3).

Although the biologic results of the investigation lead one to question the validity of the mummy docket, which have served to identify the royal mummies, such scepticism is nothing new in the history of Egyptology.¹⁴ Aside from Smith's statement regarding the mummy of Sethos II, various scholars have expressed reservations regarding the identification of the following mummies of the Eighteenth Dynasty: Tuthmosis I (CG 61065),¹⁵ Tuthmosis II (CG 61066),¹⁶ Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073),¹⁷ and Amenophis III (CG 61074).¹⁸ Such misidentification by the restorers of the mummies during the Twenty-first Dynasty may have been occasioned when the mummies were removed from their tombs to be refurbished elsewhere. While John Romer believes that this task was carried out in the tomb of Ramesses XI,¹⁹ there is some indication that the royal mummies were taken some considerable distance to the temple of Medinet Habu, inasmuch as shabtis of Kings Amenophis III, Sethos I, and Ramesses II as well as funerary sandals belonging to a Twentieth Dynasty royal mummy were found in the excavations at Medinet Habu.²⁰ There is also the linen docket on the mummy of Ramesses IX, noting that his body was removed to the temple of Medinet Habu for rewrapping.²¹ If the bodies of a number of pharaohs, stripped of jewellery and identifications and having only torn bandages about them, were brought together at Medinet Habu for restoration, then the possibility certainly existed for some confusion in identifying the mummies when they were rewrapped at the temple, especially if the mummies had been stored there for any length of time as suggested by Cyril Aldred.²²

The precariousness of the identification of the Tuthmosis I mummy (CG 61065) has long been recognized.²³ He certainly resembles the early Tuthmosids genetically, but his identification rests solely on the circumstantial evidence that the body was found in a coffin originally manufactured for Tuthmosis I, reworked for Pinudjem I, and supposedly restored to its original owner. His age at death as estimated by Wilton M. Krogman and Melvin J. Baer at 18–22 years seems too low.²⁴ Indeed there is serious doubt about this mummy being that of a king since the arms are pendant and not crossed in the royal fashion, already observable in the late Middle Kingdom mummy of King Hor from Dahshur.²⁵ If the identification of Amosis I's mummy (CG 61057) is now suspect on biologic grounds, it follows that the mummies of all New Kingdom pharaohs from Amenophis I (CG

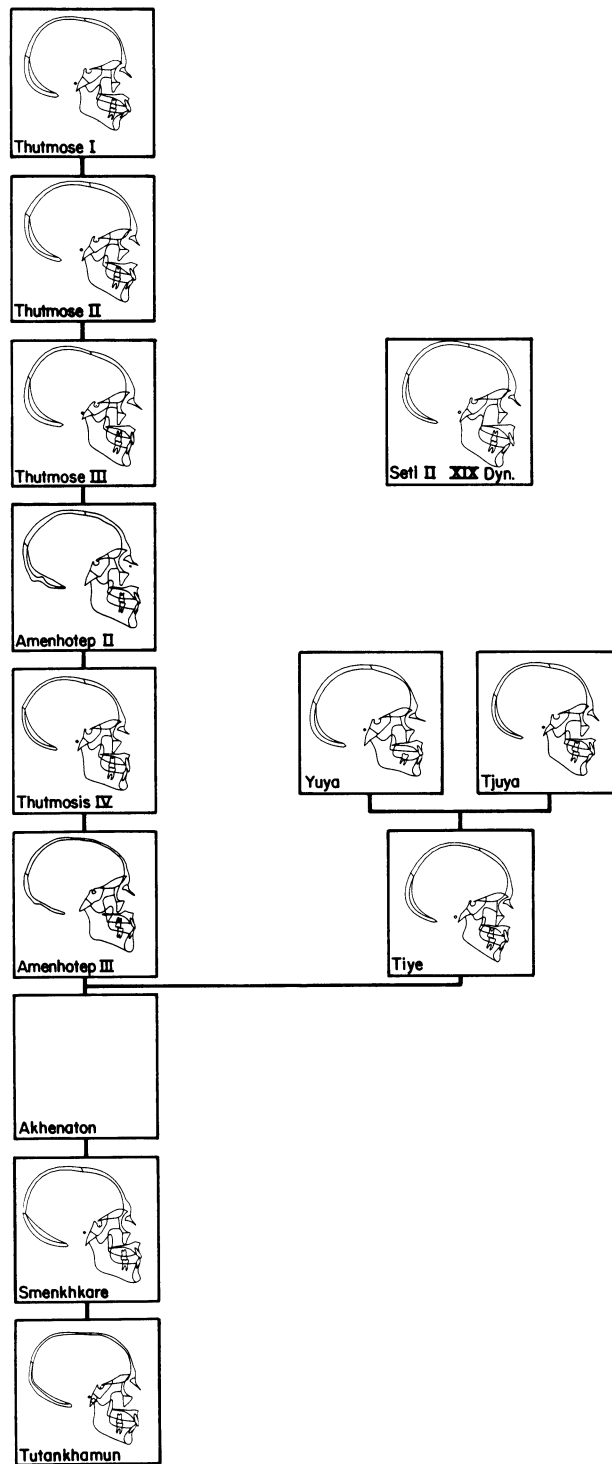


FIGURE 3 A chronology of the royal mummies of the Eighteenth Dynasty with computerized tracings. Note position of Sethos II.

61058) on had their arms crossed in the manner appropriate for a king.²⁶ The mummy that has been assumed to be that of Tuthmosis I (CG 61065) could very well be that of the non-royal progenitor of the Tuthmosid line or possibly that of a Tuthmosid prince.

The identification of the Tuthmosis II mummy (CG 61066) rests upon the evidence provided by a docket on the rewrapped mummy dated to Year 6 of what must be the reign of King Smendes of the Twenty-first Dynasty.²⁷ According to Maspero's copy of this docket, only the prenomen of Tuthmosis II is written, and it is incorrectly spelled as '3-*n-R*', without the required *hpr*.²⁸ Another disturbing factor in the identification of this mummy is the correction anciently made in the spelling of Tuthmosis II's prenomen in the band of inscription on the lid of the coffin in which the mummy was found. In this inscription, penned during the restoration of the royal mummies, the king's prenomen, '3-*hpr-n-R*', is spelled with a sequence of signs that is unattested in Eighteenth Dynasty versions of Tuthmosis II's prenomen. What is interesting is Daressy's observation concerning the alteration of this prenomen on the coffin with the Lower Egyptian crown-*n* being surcharged over an earlier sign which seems to have been *k3*.²⁹ In other words, the prenomen of Tuthmosis I, '3-*hpr-k3-R*', was originally present and then changed to Tuthmosis II's prenomen. In view of the problems that late Ramessid scribes seem to have had with the prenomen of Tuthmosis I,³⁰ including a possible instance of using Tuthmosis II's prenomen for Tuthmosis I's,³¹ it is not unreasonable to question the reliability of the Twenty-first Dynasty inscriptions on this mummy and coffin, and the possibility exists that the royal mummy (CG 61066) is that of Tuthmosis I rather than his son Tuthmosis II.

With regard to the mummy supposed to be that of Tuthmosis III (CG 61068), its identification rests upon the fact that the rewrapped mummy lay in a coffin definitely manufactured in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty for Tuthmosis III³² and upon Maspero's testimony regarding Tuthmosis III's shroud.³³ However, G. Nagel in his discussion of this shroud, inscribed with the *Litany of Rē*', cast serious doubt upon Maspero's description of it as having been found wrapped around the mummy.³⁴ According to Nagel, it was probably rolled or folded and then placed upon, not around, the rewrapped mummy in the coffin. Thus there might be some grounds for questioning the certainty of the identification of the Tuthmosis III mummy (CG 61068).

It is generally assumed that the mummy of Amenophis II (CG 61069) has been correctly identified; for it was found in a wooden coffin placed within the quartzite sarcophagus of Amenophis II in his own tomb, which also served as a cache for other royal mummies. The biologic evidence does not permit placing this mummy within the early Tuthmosid sequence, nor, as stated above, is the Amenophis II mummy (CG 61069) likely to be that of the biologic son of the person whose mummy has been considered to be that of Tuthmosis III (CG 61068). Although William C. Hayes in describing the Amenophis II mummy states: 'In the XXI Dynasty the wrappings of the mummy were restored and it was placed in a new and specially inscribed coffin. The coffin was then lowered into the sarcophagus, where it was found by Loret,'³⁵ Loret's account, to which Hayes refers, notes the presence of Amenophis II's names on the exterior of the

sarcophagus but makes no reference to any inscriptions on the wooden coffin, although on the shroud of the mummy Loret read the prenomen of Amenophis II.³⁶ Loret does mention the fact that the wooden coffin was too large for the mummy. It is possible that the restorers of the Amenophis II mummy (CG 61069) made an error in their identifying label on the shroud. If, for example, only the nomen Amenophis had been present on the tattered mummy when the restorers undertook the task of refurbishing it, they may without adequate basis have provided the mummy with the distinguishing prenomen of Amenophis II.

As for the mummy assigned to Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073), here the evidence is somewhat stronger in support of the proper identification since his names were found correctly spelled both on the rewrapped mummy³⁷ and the coffin³⁸ that had been reworked for his final interment in the tomb of Amenophis II. Nonetheless, one must consider the possibility of an erroneous attribution.

As for Amenophis III (CG 61074), an inscription on the outer wrappings of the mummy refers to the renewing of the burial of King Nebma'rē' (i.e., Amenophis III) by the Twenty-first Dynasty high priest of Amūn Pinūdjem I,³⁹ and the mummy was placed in a coffin, the lid of which was intended for the reburial of Sethos II, but secondarily inscribed in hieratic with the prenomen of Amenophis III.⁴⁰ The container of the coffin in which the Amenophis III mummy was placed, however, bore the names of Ramesses III.⁴¹ Here the evidence is by no means unequivocal.

As for Sethos II's mummy (CG 61081), which for genetic reasons does not reasonably belong to the Nineteenth Dynasty royal line, it was found in the cache in the tomb of Amenophis II and identified solely by the presence of Sethos II's name, written in hieratic by the restorers on the chest of the rewrapped mummy.⁴² It is not clear whether this name involved Sethos II's prenomen, nomen, or both. In his account of the unwrapping of this mummy in the Cairo Museum, Smith referred to the fact that two shirts, each embroidered with the name of the pharaoh Merenptah, were found among the wrappings, and he believed that they belonged to materials used when the body was originally embalmed.⁴³ However, in view of the depredation wrought upon this mummy by plunderers before its restoration,⁴⁴ it seems unlikely that these 'perfectly intact shirts' would have remained in such pristine condition had they been part of the original burial wrappings. The possibility exists that these two shirts, whose whereabouts were unfortunately unknown to Smith at the time he wrote his report, were secondarily inserted among the later wrappings as part of a restoration of the mummy during the Ramesside period or later.

Since, biologically, the Sethos II mummy (CG 61081) fits nicely between the mummies considered to be Tuthmosis II (CG 61066) and Tuthmosis III (CG 61068), one wonders whether the restorers' misidentification of the Sethos II mummy (CG 61081) resulted from a misunderstanding of the hieratic form of the prenomen of Tuthmosis II, '3-*hpr-n-R*', as *Wsr-hprw-R*', the prenomen of Sethos II, especially if one considers the possibility that a straight horizontal line in hieratic can represent either *n* or plural strokes, and a vertical '3-column in hieratic bears some slight resemblance to the hieratic *wsr*-sign.

Indeed the only Eighteenth Dynasty royal mummy about whose identity one

can be absolutely certain is that of Tut'ankhamūn, whose burial remained intact.⁴⁵ The re-examination of Tut'ankhamūn's mummy in 1978 by the University of Michigan team indicates that his age at death was between 23 and 27 years, somewhat older than previously believed. Although this age at death has been disputed as being too high on the basis of the child's throne bearing the Tut'ankhamūn-form of the king's name,⁴⁶ the biologists remain firm in their estimate of Tut'ankhamūn's age at death. It is conceivable that Tut'ankhamūn did have a child for whom the small chair was made as part of the royal household furniture.

Considering the mummies supposed to be those of Tuthmosis I, II, III and Sethos II (CG 61065, 61066, 61068, and 61081) as a group of lineal descendants from father to son, the biologist, utilizing five parameters of craniofacial shape (mandible, maxilla, cranial base, relationship of the maxilla to the mandible, and relationship of the mandible to the cranial base), arrives at the following sequence in column A of Table 1, with the bracketed figures providing the range of years the individual had attained at death as estimated by Krogman and Baer on the basis of analysis of x-rays of the mummy.⁴⁷ In column B of Table 1 are the tentative equations of the mummies with their historical identities, with the bracketed figures providing the range of estimated age at death as proposed by Wentz on the basis of non-anthropological evidence.⁴⁸

TABLE 1

<i>A (Mummies)</i>		<i>B (Historical Identities)</i>	
Tuthmosis I	(CG 61065) [18-22]	= ? Father of Tuthmosis I	
Tuthmosis II	(CG 61066) [25-30]	= Tuthmosis I	[min. 27]
Sethos II	(CG 61081) [25]	= Tuthmosis II	[20-30]
Tuthmosis III	(CG 61068) [35-40]	= Tuthmosis III	[55-66]
	<i>or</i>	= Amenophis II	[41-44]
			<i>or</i> [49-52]

At this point it should be stressed that no other royal mummy possesses suitable craniofacial morphology to permit its insertion into the genealogy under column A in Table 1. It is, however, possible that the body considered to be that of Tuthmosis III (CG 61068) could be that of the biologic grandson rather than son of the person whose body was labelled Sethos II (CG 61081).

The basic problem presented by the royal mummies of the remainder of the Eighteenth Dynasty is that, on the one hand, the craniofacial morphologies of the Tuthmosis IV mummy (CG 61073), the remains from KV 55 (CG 61075), and Tut'ankhamūn's mummy are very similar, yet, on the other hand, a genealogical sequence of the bodies identified as Tuthmosis III (CG 61068), Amenophis II (CG 61069), Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073), and Amenophis III (CG 61074) is genetically highly improbable. A more satisfactory biologic relationship is obtained if the positions of the Amenophis II mummy (CG 61069) and the Tuthmosis IV mummy (CG 61073) are reversed, yielding the genealogical sequence: Tuthmosis III (CG 61068), Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073), Amenophis II (CG 61069), and Amenophis III (CG 61074). As mentioned above, the Amenophis III mummy (CG 61074) presents a craniofacial morphology and stature that are consonant

with sculptured portraits of Akhenaten. If this badly mutilated body is that of the heretic pharaoh, it is highly improbable that either the body in KV 55 (CG 61075) or Tut'ankhamūn was his biologic son. It may be that Amenophis III's mummy was correctly identified by its restorers, in which case his physique and craniofacial morphology would be very similar to that of his son Akhenaten, as revealed in his portraiture. From the biologist's point of view, neither the KV 55 remains nor Tut'ankhamūn could be likely offspring of Amenophis III or of Akhenaten, if the Amenophis III mummy (CG 61074) is actually Amenophis III.

In trying to solve this biologic enigma, one might want to assign one of these mummies to King Ay. It is extremely unlikely that the mummy of Ay should have survived the *damnatio memoriae* so clearly evident in his tomb in the Western Valley of the Kings (WV 23), where his figure has been effaced and his names expunged even from the religious texts on the walls of the burial chamber.⁴⁹ Although it seems that Ay underwent a proper pharaonic burial in the first year of Haremhab's reign, Haremhab probably authorized the subsequent defamation of Ay, including the breaking up of his sarcophagus.⁵⁰ It is inconceivable that those charged with this desecration would have left his mummy without subjecting it to severe mutilation. The only Eighteenth Dynasty mummy that would fit such a fate for Ay is the one identified as Amenophis III (CG 61074), unless either the broken human remains found in Ay's tomb or the yellow skeleton discovered in WV 25 by Belzoni belong to Ay.⁵¹

There is a certain amount of evidence to support the view that those who buried the mummy in KV 55 (CG 61075) at least thought that they were burying Akhenaten,⁵² and Reeves has even concluded that the body from KV 55 is probably Akhenaten's.⁵³ If one accepts the identification of the body from KV 55 (CG 61075) as Akhenaten, one must then reject the restorer's identification of the Amenophis III mummy (CG 61074), which is a most unlikely candidate to be the biologic father of the body from KV 55 (CG 61075), and reassign it to Ay. Since the direct sequence of the bodies presumed to be Tuthmosis III (CG 61068), Amenophis II (CG 61069), and Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073) is genetically improbable, a gap should be inserted between the Tuthmosis III mummy (CG 61068) and the Amenophis II mummy (CG 61069), resulting in the following scheme in Table 2.

TABLE 2

<i>A (Mummies)</i>		<i>B (Historical Identities)</i>	
Tuthmosis III (CG 61068)	[35–40]	= Tuthmosis III	[55–66]
missing		= Amenophis II	
Amenophis II (CG 61069)	[35–40–45]	= Tuthmosis IV	[17–23]
			or [40–46]
Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073)	[30–35–40]	= Amenophis III	[42–46]
KV 55 (CG 61075)	[30–35]	= Akhenaten	[30–48]
Tut'ankhamūn	[23–27]	= Tut'ankhamūn	[16–26]
Amenophis III (CG 61074)	[30–35]	= Ay?	

In support of this reconstruction, it should be noted that the Tuthmosis IV mummy (CG 61073) would eminently qualify as that of the biologic father of the body in KV 55 (CG 61075) and as father or grandfather of Tut'ankhamūn. This reconstruction thus allows for Tut'ankhamūn's being the son of either Amenophis III or Akhenaten as historical figures.

On the other hand, particularly in the light of James P. Allen's discussion of the revised version of the texts on the coffin from KV 55 as indicating that Smenkhkarē was indeed a son of Akhenaten,⁵⁴ it might be argued that the body found in this coffin (CG 61075) was Smenkhkarē's, yielding the following reconstruction in Table 3.

TABLE 3

<i>A (Mummies)</i>	<i>B (Historical Identities)</i>
Tuthmosis III (CG 61068) [35–40] missing	= Tuthmosis III [55–66] = Amenophis II
Amenophis II (CG 61069) [35–40–45]	= Tuthmosis IV [17–23] or [40–46]
Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073) [30–35–40] missing	= Amenophis III [42–46] = Akhenaten
KV 55 (CG 61075) [30–35]	= Smenkhkarē [14–37]
Tut'ankhamūn [23–27]	= Tut'ankhamūn [16–26]
Amenophis III (CG 61074) [30–35]	= Ay?

One would perhaps have liked to put the Tuthmosis IV mummy (CG 61073) closer to Smenkhkarē and Tut'ankhamūn, and identify it as Akhenaten's, but it seems rather unlikely that Akhenaten's mummy would have survived in as good shape as the mummy labelled Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073). Moreover, this mummy does not resemble in its facial characteristics the portraits of Akhenaten.

The weakness of either of these reconstructions of the latter half of the Eighteenth Dynasty from the biologic point of view is that the sequence under column A, even with the gap after the Tuthmosis III mummy (CG 61068), is genetically improbable. Furthermore, of the royal mummies of the Tuthmosid line the identification of the mummy of Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073) is one of the least ambiguous, for both the shroud of the rewrapped mummy and refurbished coffin in which the mummy was found bore the names of Tuthmosis IV, clearly and properly spelled by the restorers.⁵⁵

The Amenophis III mummy (CG 61074) could very well be that of the biologic son of the person represented by the Amenophis II mummy (CG 61069) and of the female whose mummy (CG 61070) has been identified as Queen Tiye. These qualifications lead us to suggest the following sequence of identifications in Table 4.


While a neat sequence of father-son relationships from the Tuthmosis III mummy (CG 61068) to the Amenophis III mummy (CG 61074) is in accord with the biologic evidence, the parentage of Tut'ankhamūn deserves comment. Bearing in mind that Tut'ankhamūn is not biologically acceptable as the son of either of

the mummies labelled Amenophis II (CG 61069) and Amenophis III (CG 61074), one must conclude, if accepting this reconstruction, that Tut'ankhamūn was not the biologic son of a king despite the Hermopolis block reading, 'King's son of his body, his beloved, Tut'ankhaton'.⁵⁶ In commenting on this evidence Hermann A. Schlögl states with proper caution: 'Leider kann aus diesem mehrdeutigen Prinzentitel lediglich geschlossen werden, dass Tutanchaton zur königlichen Familie gehörte, nicht aber, daß sein Vater König war.'⁵⁷ There are enough instances from as early as the Old Kingdom where this title is applied to individuals who were not true sons of kings but at best their descendants, or even possibly merely honorific bearers of the title.⁵⁸

TABLE 4

<i>A (Mummies)</i>		<i>B (Historical Identities)</i>	
Tuthmosis III (CG 61068)	[35–40]	= Tuthmosis III	[55–66]
		<i>or</i> = Amenophis II	[41–44]
Tuthmosis IV (CG 61073)	[30–35–40]	= Tuthmosis IV	<i>or</i> [49–52]
			[17–23]
Amenophis II (CG 61069)	[35–40–45]	= Amenophis III	[42–46]
Amenophis III (CG 61074)	[30–35]	= Akhenaten	[30–48]
KV 55 (CG 61075)	[30–35]	= Smenkhkarē?	
Tut'ankhamūn	[23–27]	= Tut'ankhamūn	

On the Soleb lion in the British Museum Tut'ankhamūn does refer to Amenophis III as his father,⁵⁹ a relationship that is also stated several times in Tut'ankhamūn's colonnade in the Luxor temple, a monument exhibiting an extraordinary amount of devotion on the part of Tut'ankhamūn to the memory of Amenophis III.⁶⁰ But as scholars who believe that Tut'ankhamūn's father was Akhenaten have pointed out, the Egyptian term for 'father' can also signify 'grandfather'⁶¹ or even 'forefather', 'ascendant', 'progenitor'.⁶² Thus there is no certainty that, when Tut'ankhamūn referred to Amenophis III as 'his father', he meant biologic father rather than 'grandfather'.

In discussing the Oriental Institute astronomical instrument (OI 12144), dedicated by Tut'ankhamūn to the memory of Tuthmosis IV, Reeves has argued that the genealogical expression relating the two kings on this object establishes Tut'ankhamūn as the great-grandson of Tuthmosis IV and, therefore, precludes Amenophis III from being Tut'ankhamūn's father.⁶³ However, in place of Reeves' translation of the expression 'the father of the father of his father', i.e., 'his great-grandfather', the rendition 'the father of his father', i.e., 'paternal grandfather', has also been proposed.⁶⁴ The parallel that Reeves adduces from the Ramesside tomb of Inherkhau (TT. 359) to support his interpretation of  on the astronomical instrument is not an entirely exact one, for in the Inherkhau tomb occurrences of 'his father', 'his father's father', and 'his father's father's father', each spells the initial word *lt*, 'father', with reed leaf + *t* + stroke, with the stroke indicating that the *f*-sign which follows the stroke is not part of the writing of the

initial word for 'father'.⁶⁵ The writing of the word 'father' as *it* without the *f* sign in the Eighteenth Dynasty and indeed during the rest of the New Kingdom is relatively uncommon when compared with the more normal orthography of *it* as *itf* or *tf*.

While it might be argued that the expression on the Tut'ankhamūn astronomical instrument is to be understood as *it itw*, 'father of fathers', this term does not seem to be applied to kings in the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶⁶ Nor does the writing suggest that *it itw. f*, 'the father of his fathers', i.e., 'his progenitor', is to be understood.⁶⁷ If in the expression *it itw*, 'father of fathers', the initial word 'father' can be written as *itf* and the plural 'fathers' can be represented by a following group of three *f*-signs,⁶⁸ it would seem that a legitimate reading of the expression on the Tut'ankhamūn astronomical instrument is *it it.f*, with the initial word for 'father' written with the first three signs as *itf*, followed by one *f*-sign for the second *it*, 'father', to which the third *f*-sign is attached as the suffix pronoun 'his'. Of course, this very expression, 'his father's father', could have broader meaning than biologic paternal grandfather and refer to great-grandfather or progenitor.⁶⁹ Reeves's argument is not sufficiently persuasive to preclude a literal understanding of the expression on the Tut'ankhamūn astronomical instrument should biologic evidence point in this direction.

As indicated above, the Tuthmosis IV mummy (CG 61073), the body from KV 55 (CG 61075), and Tut'ankhamūn's mummy have very similar craniofacial morphologies. They can easily be grouped in a father-son-grandson cluster or in a triad of father and two sons. To remove the Tuthmosis IV mummy (CG 61073) beyond a grandfather relationship to Tut'ankhamūn is significantly less probable, lending some support to the interpretation of the Tut'ankhamūn astronomical instrument as indicating that Tuthmosis IV was Tut'ankhamūn's paternal grandfather. But the biologic evidence that suggests the arrangement of the royal mummies in Table 4 does not permit making Amenophis III, here represented by the Amenophis II mummy (CG 61069), the biologic father of Tut'ankhamūn or of the body from KV 55 (CG 61075). It is, of course, theoretically possible that Tut'ankhamūn was not descended at all from Amenophis III and that the Tut'ankhamūn references to Amenophis III as 'his father' are without biologic import, as perhaps was the case when Ay called Amenophis III 'his father'.⁷⁰ However, the evidence of Tut'ankhamūn's Luxor colonnade and the Soleb lion does suggest a genealogical link between the two kings.

One way to reconcile the inscriptional evidence with the biologic data is to make Tuthmosis IV Tut'ankhamūn's paternal grandfather and to make Amenophis III his maternal grandfather. This solution would entail the marriage of a prince to his niece. It may well be that the names of Tut'ankhamūn's parents are lost to us. One suspects that Tut'ankhamūn's maternal grandmother was Queen Tiye because a lock of her hair was discovered among the treasured heirlooms in Tut'ankhamūn's tomb.

Who then was the person interred in KV 55 (CG 61075)? By the reconstruction of Table 4, the KV 55 body cannot be that of a biologic son of Akhenaten. This conclusion seems, however, to run counter to Allen's reconstitution of the revised inscription on the foot of the coffin from KV 55.⁷¹ Although it is remotely

possible that Allen has gone too far in restoring the text to establish Smenkhkarē as Akhenaten's son, it should be noted that he does state regarding his interpretation of the text: 'The relationship of the new pharaoh as son to Akhenaten as father may or may not reflect historical fact, but it is at least consonant with the theology of both the Amarna period and Egyptian kingship in general.'⁷² Thus if Allen's reading of the coffin inscriptions is correct and if the body found in the coffin is Smenkhkarē's, it is still possible that Smenkhkarē was not the biologic son of Akhenaten but merely his theological son. Both Smenkhkarē and Tutankhamun could well have been brothers, grandsons but not sons of kings.

There is no certainty that the body from KV 55 is that of Smenkhkarē or Akhenaten. The only inscriptional evidence from the mummy itself is provided by two adornments both bearing the early form of the Aten's names, in use prior to Akhenaten's Year 9.⁷³ Thus it is quite possible that the individual entombed in KV 55 even predeceased Akhenaten by eight or more years, as argued by Kurt Sethe.⁷⁴ It would be imprudent to draw any firm conclusions from the position of the arms of this mummy at the time of discovery, for there is no certainty that it was originally embalmed with the arms in the position in which they were found. At best one can conclude that the mummy is that of a male individual, closely related to Tutankhamun, but there is nothing about the mummy itself to suggest that it belonged to a king.

It may be that in the history of Egyptology too great a reliance has at times been placed upon conclusions of biologists, so that today we have become sceptical of the results of modern biologic investigations of ancient remains. The past history of the relationship between the two disciplines has not been without vicious circular reasoning leading to the alteration of biologic conclusions on the basis of Egyptological evidence and vice versa. This paper is in a sense a plea for keeping the two disciplines apart. Both our fields are growing, and perhaps at this point in time we should not expect too much in the way of definitive conclusions but rest content with making the evidence available without prejudice, allowing our successors to render the final verdict.

Notes

- 1 G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Catalogue général des antiquités du Musée du Caire), Nos. 61051–61100 (Cairo, 1912), 79–80.
- 2 Ibid. 26, cf. the even earlier intentions of V. Loret, 'Le Tombeau d'Aménophis II', *BIE*, 3rd ser., 9 (1898), 110.
- 3 W. Schull, 'The Role of Statistics in Dentistry', in C. J. Witkop (ed.), *Genetics and Dental Health* (New York, 1962).
- 4 J. E. Harris, 'The Heritability of Malocclusion: Implications for the Orthodontic Practitioner', in H. G. Barrer (ed.), *Orthodontics, The State of the Art* (Philadelphia, 1981), 257–68.
- 5 G. F. Walker and C. J. Kowalski, 'A Two-Dimensional Coordinate Model for the Quantification, Description, Analysis, Prediction, and Simulation of Craniofacial Growth', *Growth* 35 (1971), 191–211.

- 6 C. N. Reeves, 'A Reappraisal of Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings', *JEA* 67 (1981), 53–4.
- 7 Based on the re-evaluation of the biologic evidence by Professor James E. Harris and Professor Fawzia H. Hussein, Director of the Anthropological Laboratory, National Research Centre, Cairo. Cf. also P. Costa, 'The Frontal Sinuses of the Remains Purported to be Akhenaten', *JEA* 64 (1978), 76–9.
- 8 Cf. J. E. Harris, C. Kowalski, and G. F. Walker in J. E. Harris and E. F. Wente (eds.), *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies* (Chicago and London, 1980), 352–3, *pace* M. Pillet, 'A propos d'Akhenaton', *Cahier complémentaire à la Revue d'Égyptologie* (Cairo, 1950), 63–82. The height of CG 61074 is 5'4", as directly measured in 1985.
- 9 According to A. Tulhoff, *Thutmosis III*. (Munich, 1984), 163–4, Tuthmosis III's earlier principal queen Sitiaḥ died around Year 34 of Tuthmosis III's reign, and Ḥatshepsut-Meryetrē, the mother of Amenophis II, took the position of chief queen not long thereafter. It seems unlikely then that Amenophis II, who claims Tuthmosis III as his father and who was 16–18 years of age when he came to the throne, was born to Queen Ḥatshepsut-Meryetrē out of a previous marriage and became the adopted son of Tuthmosis III upon his marriage to her.
- 10 F. J. Giles, *Ikhnaton, Legend and History* (London, 1970), 40–2, and D. E. Derry in H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen*, II (New York, 1927), 217–19.
- 11 Wente, review of Giles, *Ikhnaton, Legend and History*, in *JNES* 31 (1972), 139.
- 12 Smith, *op. cit.* 51.
- 13 Cf. A. Niwiński, 'Butehamon — Schreiber der Nekropolis', *SAK* 11 (1984), 139; J. R. Harris, 'A propos de la prétendue momie du scribe royal Boutehamon', *CdE* 35 (1960), 89–91; and P. H. K. Gray, 'Notes concerning the Position of Arms and Hands of Mummies with a View to Possible Dating of the Specimen', *JEA* 58 (1972), 200–4. The current whereabouts of the mummy of King Pinūdjem I, which was discovered in the Deir el-Baḥrī cache, cannot be ascertained, cf. E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*, privately published (Princeton, 1966), 244, and G. Maspero, 'Les Momies royales de Déir el-Baharī', *MMAF* 1 (Paris, 1887), 545, 570 and 788, on this mummy.
- 14 Cf. G. Steindorff and W. Wolf, *Die thebanische Gräberwelt* (Leipziger ägyptologische Studien 4) (Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1936), 76 n. 3, and K. Sethe, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Amenophis' IV.', *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1921, 125–6.
- 15 Sethe, *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht* (APAW, Jahrgang 1932, Phil.-hist. Klasse No. 4), 94, and G. Robins, 'The Value of the Estimated Ages of the Royal Mummies at Death as Historical Evidence', *GM* 45 (1981), 64–6, cf. Maspero, *op. cit.*, captions of pls. 7 B and 8 B.
- 16 Sethe, *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht*, 94, and W. F. Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* (SAOC 8), Chicago, 1933, 42.
- 17 Giles, *op. cit.* 42–3, and Sethe, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Amenophis' IV.', 125–6.
- 18 Cf. n. 10 above.
- 19 J. Romer, *Ancient Lives: Daily Life in Egypt of the Pharaohs* (New York, 1984), 192–3.
- 20 U. Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu*, V, *Post-Ramessid Remains* (OIP 66), (Chicago, 1954), 5, and Thomas, *op. cit.* 256–7 and 271.
- 21 *Ibid.* 251–2.
- 22 C. Aldred, 'More Light on the Ramesside Tomb Robberies', in J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa, and K. A. Kitchen (eds.), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 98.
- 23 Cf. n. 15 above.

- 24 W. M. Krogman and M. J. Baer in Harris and Wente (eds.), op. cit., table 6.4 (pp. 206–7), and Wente in *ibid.* 249–51.
- 25 J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars-juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895) 91, fig. 211.
- 26 For the originally crossed position of the arms of Amenophis I (CG 61058), see Harris and Wente (eds.), op. cit. 171 and 351. King Seqenenrē' Ta'o II (CG 61051) must be excluded from consideration since he was embalmed in the frozen attitude of his violent death.
- 27 Maspero, op. cit. 545–6, and fig. 14, and on the date of the docket, see K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*, 2nd edn. (Warminster, 1986), 418.
- 28 Cf. H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Egypte* II, (MIFAO 18), Cairo, 1912, 227–34.
- 29 G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Catalogue général des antiquités du Musée du Caire), Nos. 61001–44 (Cairo, 1909), 18 n. 2, and pl. 13.
- 30 A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, *Commentary* (Oxford, 1948), 136 (§ 75), and W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz, 1961–70), 91. For ambiguous spellings of the prenomen of Tuthmosis I, cf. BM 10054, rt. 3, 3; BM 10053, vs. 2, 7; and BM 10052, 14, 15, published in T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1930), II, pls. 6, 20, 34; and Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, I, *Plates* (Oxford, 1941), pl. 25, col. 54, line 25.
- 31 Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, I, pl. 15, col. 33, line 16; cf. Helck, loc. cit.
- 32 Daressy, op. cit. 19–20, pl. 14. The stripping of the gold foil from this coffin except in areas giving Tuthmosis III's names would indicate that restorers of the burial rather than tomb robbers were responsible for mutilation of the coffin's decoration, cf. Romer, op. cit. 192.
- 33 Maspero, op. cit. 547–8; id., 'Rapport sur la trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari', *BIE*, 2nd ser., 2 (1881), 142–3.
- 34 G. Nagel, 'Le linceul de Thoutmès III', *ASAE* 49 (1949), 317–29.
- 35 W. C. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* (Princeton, 1935), 25.
- 36 Loret, op. cit. 102 and 108.
- 37 *Ibid.* 111, and Daressy, 'Notes sur la momie de Thoutmôsis IV', *ASAE* 4 (1903), 110–11.
- 38 Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, pl. 61 (Daressy's rendition of the prenomen on p. 217 erroneously omits the plural strokes).
- 39 Smith, op. cit., pls. 100/103, cf. Harris and Wente (eds.), op. cit. 352.
- 40 Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, 217–18, pl. 61.
- 41 *Ibid.* 221–2, pl. 63.
- 42 Loret, op. cit. 111, and Smith, op. cit. 75.
- 43 *Ibid.* 74–5.
- 44 *Ibid.* 74 and pl. 65.
- 45 See R. Krauss, 'Zum archäologischen Befund im thebanischen Königsggrab Nr.62', *MDOG* 118 (1986), 165–81.
- 46 M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Die Throne Tutanchamuns: Vorläufige Bemerkungen', *GM* 76 (1984), 10 n. 15.
- 47 Harris and Wente (eds.), op. cit., table 6.4 (pp. 206–11).
- 48 *Ibid.* 246–52.
- 49 A. Piankoff, 'Les Peintures dans la tombe du roi Aï', *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 247–51, pls. 21/25.
- 50 Cf. O. J. Schaden, 'Clearance of the Tomb of King Ay (WV-23)', *JARCE* 21 (1984), 39–64.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 40, 46–7, 58, 63–4.
- 52 Cf. Gardiner, 'The So-called Tomb of Queen Tiye', *JEA* 43 (1957), 23–24, and G.

- Perepelkin, *The Secret of the Gold Coffin* (Moscow, 1978), 131–67, but cf. J. P. Allen, 'Two Altered Inscriptions of the Late Amarna Period', *JARCE* 25 (1988), 121–2.
- 53 Reeves, 'Akhenaten after All?', *GM* 54 (1982), 61–71. The age at death for Akhenaten was given as 38–48 years by Wentz in Harris and Wentz (eds.), *op. cit.* 255–6, reflecting my belief at the time that Akhenaten had a child by his own daughter Meritaten. In the light of the conclusions of C. Meyer, 'Zum Titel "hmt njswt" bei den Töchtern Amenophis' III. und IV. und Ramses' II.', *SAK* 11 (1984), 259–63, and Reeves, *GM* 54, 65, I now believe that Akhenaten's age at death could be as low as 30 years, but more likely a minimum of 35 years. It should be noted, however, that Reeves's reference in *GM* 54, 70 n. 33, to L. A. White, 'Ikhnaton: the Great Man vs. the Culture Process', *JAOS* 68 (1948), 105 ff., as countering 'the argument that Akhenaten must have been of some maturity at his accession, in view of the remarkable achievements of the reign', does not reflect current evaluations of Akhenaten's role in the religious revolution as expressed by E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: the One and the Many* (Ithaca, 1982), 244–50; J. Assmann, *Ägypten — Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart, 1984), 232–58; and D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King* (Princeton, 1984), chap. 15.
- 54 Allen, *op. cit.* 121–26.
- 55 Cf. nn. 37 and 38 above.
- 56 G. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, II (Hildesheim, 1969), pl. 106 (831 viii C), cf. J. Ray, 'The Parentage of Tut'ankhamūn', *Antiquity* 49 (1975), 45–7, and Reeves, 'New Light on Kiya from Texts in the British Museum', *JEA* 74 (1988), 101 n. 42.
- 57 H. A. Schlögl, *Echnaton-Tutanchamun: Fakten und Texte*, 2nd edn. (Wiesbaden, 1985), 53; cf. also Redford, *op. cit.* 192, and id., 'Once Again the Filiation of Tut'ankhamūn', *JSSEA* 9 (1978–1979), 111–15.
- 58 Cf. B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt "Königssohn"* (Bonn, 1976), 65–79.
- 59 *Urk.* IV, 1746, 6.
- 60 Cf. L. Bell, in R. M. Adams (ed.), *The Oriental Institute 1982–83 Annual Report* (Chicago, 1983), 9, and id. in J. H. Johnson (ed.), *The Oriental Institute 1983–84 Annual Report* (Chicago, 1984), 7.
- 61 Cf. Tuthmosis III's reference to his grandfather Tuthmosis I as 'his father' on the latter's sarcophagus from KV 38 (Hayes, *op. cit.*, 109 and 204, Text IIa) and Tuthmosis IV's reference to his grandfather Tuthmosis III as 'his father' on the Lateran obelisk (*Urk.* IV, 1550, 3).
- 62 Cf. Robins, 'The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms', *CdE* 54 (1979), 200. On the broad range of the meaning of *lt*, 'father', cf. also M. L. Bierbrier, 'Terms of Relationship at Deir el-Medīna', *JEA* 66 (1980), 100–1, and J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, (BdE 50) (Cairo, 1973), 211, who points to its use as a term of affection as is probably the case when King Ay referred to Amenophis III as 'his father', cf. Bell in Adams (ed.), *The Oriental Institute 1982–83 Annual Report*, 9.
- 63 Reeves, 'Tuthmosis IV as "Great-Grandfather" of Tut'ankhamūn', *GM* 56 (1982), 65–9, and id., 'The Tomb of Tuthmosis IV: Two Questionable Attributions', *GM* 44 (1981), 49–52, fig. 1.
- 64 J. A. Larson, 'The Tut-ankh-amun Astronomical Instrument (Oriental Institute 12144)' in Oriental Institute Museum, *Featured Object Number One January 1985* (Chicago, 1985), cf. Wentz, review of R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Chronologie des Neuen Reiches*, in *JNES* 42 (1983), 316.
- 65 Cf. C. F. Nims, 'Ramesseum Sources of Medinet Habu Reliefs', in J. H. Johnson and E. F. Wentz (eds.), *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC 39) (Chicago, 1976), 173 n. 20, on Ramessid spellings of 'his father'.

- 66 Cf. W. Helck, ‘“Vater der Väter”’, in S. Schott (ed.), *Göttinger Vorträge vom ägyptologischen Kolloquium der Akademie am 25. und 26. August 1964* (NAWG 1965), 173–6.
- 67 As, for example, *Urk.* IV, 2135, 3, used by King Ḥaremḥab in speaking about his predecessor Tuthmosis III.
- 68 As in the Papyrus of Ani 2, line 3 (E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead: the Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, text vol. [London, 1898], 13).
- 69 Cf. Reeves, *GM* 56, 68 n. 8. With regard to *ibid.* 67 n. 3, the puzzling *it-nḥt.f* is surely to be read *it n mwt.f*, ‘the father of his mother’, and is thus not the Egyptian equivalent to ‘great-great-grandfather’.
- 70 Cf. n. 62 above.
- 71 Allen, *op. cit.*, 121–26.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 125.
- 73 T. M. Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tiye* (London, 1910), 22–3.
- 74 Sethe, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte Amenophis’ IV.’, 128, *pace* Perepelkin, *op. cit.* 166.

Some Observations Concerning Uninscribed Tombs in the Valley of the Kings

DONALD P. RYAN

ALTHOUGH the Valley of the Kings is internationally celebrated for its beautifully decorated and inscribed tombs, a closer examination of the numbered tombs in the Wadi Bîbân el-Molûk demonstrates that approximately half of these tombs are uninscribed (see Table 1). Knowing this, one is struck by the amazing lack of interest in and documentation for most of these tombs. Sheer numbers alone demand that these uninscribed monuments are worthy of attention as does their location in this most special of valleys. This paper will briefly comment upon the nature, problems, and challenges of uninscribed tombs in the Valley of the Kings and will occasionally use examples and insights gathered from the first two seasons of work of the Pacific Lutheran University Valley of the Kings Project (1989 and 1990).¹ It is the goal of the Project to clear, document, and conserve a series of six uninscribed tombs located north and east behind the Valley's prominent hill (KV 21, 27, 28, 44, 45, and 60).

The Nature of Uninscribed Tombs

The term 'uninscribed' here refers to tombs which bear no inscriptions and generally applies to those tombs whose walls are blank. There are some tombs, however, that are uninscribed but slightly decorated (e.g. KV 38² and 42³) in which the term undecorated would be inappropriate. Examples of graffiti and masons' marks are not considered as intentional attempts to decorate the tombs.

Uninscribed tombs offer a host of intriguing problems. Most obvious is the fact that one cannot simply 'read the walls' of a tomb to determine its date, ownership, and other information of interest. Without the crutch of texts and decorations, the tombs become archaeological problems compounded in the Valley of the Kings by their serious lack of documentation.

Typically, most of the uninscribed tombs were savagely robbed in antiquity. This fact, combined with the tombs' relative simplicity, seems to have generated a profound lack of interest by their nineteenth century or early twentieth century

discoverers. With archaeological thought and technique in its infancy, and with the possibilities of richer, more colourful discoveries ahead, it is not surprising that these early excavators showed little interest in the examination or recording of uninscribed corridors and chambers and bits of broken wood and pottery.

TABLE 1 Uninscribed Tombs in the Valley of the Kings*

Tomb Number	Tomb Owner(s)
12	?
20	Tuthmosis I, Hatshepsut
21	?
24	?
25	?
26	?
27	?
28	?
29	?
30	?
31	?
32	?
33	?
36	Maiherpri
37	?
38	Tuthmosis I
39	?
40	?
41?	unexcavated
42	Hatshepsut-Meryetrē', Sennufer
44	Twenty-second Dynasty usurpation
45	Twenty-second Dynasty usurpation of Userhet
46	Yuia and Tjuia
48	Amenemopet
49	?
50-52	animals, (tombs intended for human burials?)
53	?
55	'Amarna cache', Tiye?
56	?
58	?
59	?
60	Sitrē' + another female
61	apparently unused

* Though formally numbered in the Valley of the Kings tomb series, KV 54 is not a tomb but a shallow rock cut excavation containing a cache of materials related to the burial of Tut'ankhamūn. It is thus not included on this list. The lettered series of tomb 'commencements' and miscellaneous 'pits' are likewise not included.

Various processes following the original interments have also made tomb interpretation more difficult. These often inhibiting forces are indeed typical of the agents of disruption and destruction found throughout the Valley. In the case

of KV 27⁴, for example, the original excavator is not known, and there are consequently no records of its discovery or possible contents. The tomb has suffered the effects of several flood events and has also served as a human shelter until relatively recently. Portions of the ceiling and walls are blackened by the soot of fires. As late as 1990, local men used the tomb for escaping the heat, and small broken 'antiquities' of modern manufacture attest to the tomb's use as an occasional storage depot for souvenir dealers. (A funerary cone found in the debris of neighbouring KV 28 provides another example.) Additionally, KV 27 has been used by local dogs as a haven for raising their offspring. An angry protective mother and six puppies were found domiciled there during our second field season.

In KV 21⁵ it seems that most of the damage took place *after* its discovery by Giovanni Belzoni in 1817. James Burton referred to the tomb as 'a clean new tomb — the water not having got into it'.⁶ Such was not the case upon our reopening of this monument in 1989. The entrance-way of the tomb itself was buried under many feet of flood debris. The door of the tomb had fortunately been blocked by stones, but water had nonetheless entered the tomb leaving a thin layer of fine silt in its lower reaches. Watermarks on the walls in the tomb's burial chamber indicate several centimetres of slowly evaporating standing water. The water has taken its toll on most of the artifacts found on the floor, and the two mummies found inside were likewise affected.

Evidence of vandalism is clear in KV 21. The well-preserved mummies in the burial chamber, described by Belzoni, were found broken in pieces here and there in the tomb. A graffito by a certain 'ME!' was left in the tomb's small side chamber with a date of 1826. Additionally, some hefty rocks had been thrown amidst the large, whitened pots that were stored in this room, perhaps for the dubious pleasure of hearing the shatter of ancient pottery. Extensive deposits of bat guano in the tomb demonstrate that the tomb was open for some time.

In contrast, there is KV 60⁷ which has suffered neither from floods, recent occupation, nor modern vandalism. An uninterested Howard Carter encountered this anciently robbed tomb in 1903 and reburied it, removing only some examples of mummified geese, and leaving two mummies and a coffin along with many other objects. His notes include neither a plan nor a map. An apparent subsequent entry by Edward Ayrton in 1906 is only indirectly documented.⁸ He took the coffin and one of the mummies and reburied the tomb. The tomb then became 'lost' yet again until 1989.⁹

Tomb Ownership and Dating

There are few examples of uninscribed tombs in the Valley of the Kings where the owners are known. The partially intact burials of Maiherpi (KV 36)¹⁰ and Yuia and Tjuia (KV 46)¹¹ are truly exceptional. Again, a lack of archaeological documentation is a major factor in our ignorance concerning these tombs. The matter of ownership can also be complicated by such factors as usurpations. In KV 45, for example, Howard Carter discovered an intact double burial of Twenty-

second Dynasty date placed amongst the debris of what seems to have been the original Eighteenth Dynasty burial.¹² All that Carter recovered from this first burial were a few pieces of inscribed canopic jars. Another example is seen with the foundation deposits of KV 42 which indicate that the tomb was constructed for Ḥatshepsut-Meryetrē'. The meagre contents, however, included material from the burial of Sennufer and others.¹³ The classic example of the problem of tomb ownership is, of course, the enduring controversy of KV 55.¹⁴ Other intriguing and hitherto nameless occupants of uninscribed tombs, such as those recently rediscovered in KV 60 and 21, will provide much fodder for future speculation.

It is tempting to suggest that the majority of the uninscribed tombs belong to private non-royal individuals. Insufficient data and counter-examples (e.g. Tuthmosis I, KV 38,¹⁵ and Ḥatshepsut/Tuthmosis I, KV 20,¹⁶) do not allow for such an assumption. Additionally, in terms of tomb ownership one must take into account some of the mummies gathered into the royal caches of Deir el-Baḥri and KV 35 for whom no tombs are known.¹⁷

The dating of the uninscribed tombs would certainly be enhanced by a knowledge of ownership, but in its absence there are stylistic trends which might assist. The stylistic evolution of the royal tomb plan has long been recognized, and further trends concerning design and dimension will hopefully be discerned if more of the uninscribed tombs are investigated in the future. Trends in location might also be established. Uninscribed 'pit tombs' KV 27, 28, 44, and 45 all appear to be of Eighteenth Dynasty date and were constructed on the north and eastern sides of the Valley's prominent hill. Their similarity in design and location suggests a temporal relationship.

Why Uninscribed?

An obvious question comes to mind when dealing with these tombs: why are these tombs devoid of inscription or decoration while others nearby are abundantly adorned? KV 60, for example, contains many examples of incomplete carving or hasty work. KV 21, on the other hand, is finely cut, prepared for plastering, and essentially ready for decoration. Many of the royal tombs in the Valley are far from complete in their decoration, but they are indeed at least partially inscribed. Across the cliffs in the private necropoleis there are numerous examples of even the simplest of tombs bearing inscriptions.

In dealing with this problem, there are several points of consideration. Uninscribed tombs have not been unusual across the history of Egyptian tomb building.¹⁸ Secondly, the timing of each tomb's building commission could play a major role in the tomb's size and decoration. If, for example, private tombs in the Valley of the Kings were commissioned by royalty at the time of an esteemed individual's death, one might expect a small, somewhat simple, perhaps hastily carved construction. Thirdly, the unfinished nature of many of the royal incompletely decorated tombs attests that a completed tomb was not a prerequisite to burial.¹⁹ Another question could also be asked: might the lack of inscription, at times,

have served as an intentional status-differential between royalty and those private individuals privileged to be buried in the Valley?

Earlier Excavators

Working with uninscribed tombs in the Valley of the Kings in the aftermath of Howard Carter (1874–1939) and Giovanni Belzoni (1778–1823) has afforded me the opportunity to reflect on the work of both of these extraordinary individuals. A few comments about each follow:

Howard Carter

Carter's work in KV 44 (1901)²⁰, KV 45 (1902)²¹, and KV 60 (1903)²² was not particularly inconsistent with the archaeological standards of his day. The Petrie revolution advocating systematic archaeology was just emerging when young Carter was discovering these little tombs.²³ With a background primarily as a copyist, it may not be surprising that he was apparently uninterested in these heavily looted and uninscribed monuments. Furthermore, these relatively 'poor' burials might have seemed somewhat insignificant in comparison with some of the more dramatic discoveries or royal tombs being made at the turn of the century.

Howard Carter did copy most of the intact inscribed objects and usually offered brief descriptions of his findings, although most scholars today would probably prefer a little more documentation on his part. Perhaps he had the insight to leave well enough alone and intentionally left the task of more thorough documentation for future, more interested parties. His closing of Tomb 60 might suggest such an attitude. Happily, Carter's archaeological technique and interests improved and expanded significantly in the years prior to 1922, and he should be credited for having the wisdom to assemble a truly outstanding cast of experts who assisted him in the clearance of the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn.

Giovanni Belzoni

Giovanni Belzoni, the oft-maligned Italian carnival performer-turned-antiquarian, was the first Westerner known to have excavated in the Valley of the Kings.²⁴ Many historians have saddled Belzoni with such unflattering titles as 'tomb robber' and 'the greatest plunderer of them all'.²⁵ Such writers tend to emphasize the more flamboyant aspects of Belzoni's personal history, ignore the context of his time, and usually neglect the activities which clearly set him apart and ahead of most of his contemporaries. It is my belief that Belzoni's work in the Valley of the Kings *does*, in fact, provide an excellent example of genuine archaeological activity. Case in point: Belzoni considered one of his greatest achievements to have been the discovery in 1817 of the tomb of Sethos I (KV 17).²⁶ Contrary to his modern reputation as a tomb robber, Belzoni carefully described and measured

this tomb, all of which can be found published in his 1820 *Narrative* for any who care to take a careful look.²⁷ He also took great efforts to record the tomb in beautiful watercolours.²⁸ It should be noted, too, that Belzoni was not merely searching for especially lovely pieces of ancient art but possessed a very wide interest in Egyptian antiquities of all sorts, including those considered relatively mundane. His exhibition at Piccadilly, London, in 1821 included not only mummies, wooden and stone statues, and other exotic crowd-pleasing items, but also displayed examples of baskets, sandals, ropes, and other objects of daily life, which are hardly the booty of a tomb robber!²⁹

A few years ago I was privileged to study an ancient rope in the British Museum which Belzoni had found hanging in the well-shaft of Sethos' tomb. His foresight in collecting such an object produced very interesting results over 165 years later.³⁰ Furthermore, in the plates which accompany Belzoni's *Narrative*, a topographic map of the Valley of the Kings can be found locating the subterranean features of his discoveries.³¹ In Tomb 21, we have found many of the objects and features mentioned by Belzoni. A plan of Tomb 21, complete with scale, was included in his published illustrations.³² Given the above facts, I offer no hesitation in my consideration of Giovanni Belzoni as a father of Egyptian archaeology.

Final Comments

Though their lack of inscriptions often severely complicates their interpretation, the uninscribed tombs provide an archaeological challenge with the possibility of a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the Valley of the Kings. Apart from their inherent historical value, the uninscribed tombs also possess the potential to serve as models for conservation. Given the possibility of future flooding and increased pollution in the Valley, there is a need to protect the tombs, especially those which are decorated, with special doors or other protective devices. Experimental doors, for examples, could be installed on an undecorated tomb along with the appropriate instruments for measuring the temperature, humidity, etc. of the interior environment. Thus these tombs, worthy of protection in themselves, might greatly assist in conservation experimentation without risk to the beautiful decoration found in many of the other tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Despite their neglect by earlier investigators, the re-examination of these tombs is proving a worthwhile venture. Rather than being dismayed by the lack of an easy solution, one can instead view these monuments as exciting opportunities for investigation.

Notes

Abbreviations: Thomas, E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966); Reeves, C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings* (Kegan Paul-London, 1990)

- 1 The Project has been conducted with the kind permission of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization and is affiliated with the American Research Center in Egypt. Thanks are extended to Mr and Mrs M. D. Schwartz, Mr Albert Haas, and Mr Gerald Vincent for their generous support.

Uninscribed Tombs in the Valley of the Kings

- 2 Thomas, 71–3; Reeves, 17–18. Data on each of the tombs mentioned in this article are excellently provided in the volumes authored by Thomas and by Reeves where full references may be consulted.
- 3 Thomas, 78–80; Reeves, 24–5.
- 4 Thomas, 138; Reeves, 154.
- 5 Thomas, 139; Reeves, 153–4.
- 6 James Burton, c. 1826, British Library, Add. MS 25642, 23, Tomb ‘T’.
- 7 H. Carter, ‘Report of work done in Upper Egypt’, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 176–7; Thomas, 137–8; Reeves, 139 and addenda.
- 8 The coffin and mummy of Sitre are noted in the Temporary Register of the Cairo Museum, (24/21/16/1) with a comment referring to Ayrton.
- 9 D. Ryan, ‘The Pacific Lutheran University Valley of the Kings Project: a Synopsis of the First (1989) Season’, *NARCE* 146 (1989), 8–10.
- 10 Thomas, 157–8; Reeves, 140–7.
- 11 Thomas, 143–4; Reeves, 148–53.
- 12 Thomas, 162; Reeves, 147.
- 13 Thomas, 78–80; Reeves, 24–5.
- 14 Thomas, 144–6; Reeves, 42–9.
- 15 Thomas, 71–3; Reeves, 17–18.
- 16 Thomas, 75–7; Reeves, 13, 16–17.
- 17 Thomas, 228–48; Reeves, 245–57.
- 18 The pyramid of Khufu at Giza offers the biggest such example.
- 19 J. Černý, ‘The Valley of the Kings’, *IFAO Bibliothèque d’étude* 61 (1973), 11.
- 20 H. Carter, ‘Report on tomb-pit opened on the 26th January 1901 in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings’, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 144–5; A. Rowe, ‘Corrections and additions to Report on Tomb Pit. . .’, *ASAE* 41 (1942), 346–7.
- 21 H. Carter, ‘Report on General Work done in the Southern Inspectorate’, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 45–6.
- 22 H. Carter, ‘Report of work done in Upper Egypt’, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 176–7.
- 23 W. M. F. Petrie summarized his methodology in *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (Blom-New York, 1904).
- 24 S. Mayes, *The Great Belzoni* (Walker-New York, 1961); D. Ryan, ‘Giovanni Battista Belzoni’, *Biblical Archaeologist* 49 (1986), 133–8.
- 25 G. Daniel, *150 Years of Archaeology* (Duckworth-London, 1975) 69, 155; B. Fagan, *The Rape of the Nile* (Scribner’s-New York, 1975), 95.
- 26 Thomas 104–7; Reeves 92–4.
- 27 *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia* (Murray-London, 1820), 230–46.
- 28 The watercolours are housed at the City Museum, Bristol, England.
- 29 Anonymous, *Description of the Egyptian Tomb discovered by G. Belzoni* (Murray-London, 1821), 15; Anonymous, *Catalogue of the Various Articles of Antiquity, to be disposed of, at the Egyptian Tomb, by Auction, or by Private Contract* (Clowes-London, 1822), 8–9. (A copy of each of these can be found in the Percival Collection, British Library).
- 30 D. Ryan, ‘Belzoni’s Rope from the Tomb of Sethos I.’ *SAK Beiheft* 2 (1989), 139–42; D. Ryan and D. Hansen, ‘A study of ancient Egyptian Cordage in the British Museum’, *British Museum Occasional Papers* 62 (1987), 15–17.
- 31 G. Belzoni, *Forty-four Plates illustrative of the Researches and Operations of Belzoni in Egypt and Nubia* (Murray-London, 1820), pl. 39, Tomb 5.
- 32 *Ibid.*, pl. 32, Tomb 3.

An Interim Report on Work in KV 39, September–October 1989

JOHN ROSE

THE following is a bulletin on work undertaken in and finds recovered from outside the unidentified Theban tomb KV 39 between 1 September and 9 October 1989; it does not deal with the scientific analysis of the tomb and the finds, which will be published at the conclusion of the project.

Permission to clear and survey KV 39, for the purpose of producing an accurate description and plan, was sought and granted through the kind offices of Professor Dr Sayed Tawfiq Ahmed, Chairman of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, Dr Ali Hassan, Mr Mutaud Balbush, and all the members of the Permanent Committee for Archaeology. Acknowledgment is also made to the management and staff of the Antiquities Organization at Luxor and Qurna, including Dr Mohammed el-Sughayer, Director at Luxor, Dr Mohammed Nasr, Director at Qurna, Mr Magdy el-Molla, Chief Inspector at Qurna, Mr Ismail el-Masry, and the other Inspectors at Qurna, as well as the Qurna workforce; the help and expertise of all were much appreciated. I am indebted to Pacific Western University for their support in this project.

Background

Tomb KV 39 lies at the head of the small wadi above the tomb of Tuthmosis III, south of the Valley of the Kings (see pl. IV, above; fig. 4), having been discovered, probably by Chinouda Macarios and Boutros Andraos, in about 1900.¹ The tomb was entered by Arthur Weigall and Corinna Lindon Smith² and others around 1908 and is described by Weigall as being entirely ruinous.³ In his article in *ASAE* 11 (1911),⁴ Weigall suggested that the location corresponded with that of the tomb of Amenophis I as described in Papyrus Abbott.⁵ A conjectural plan and section (see fig. 5), based upon descriptions given by Weigall and Mrs Smith, was published by Elizabeth Thomas.⁶ The tomb has been discussed several times since Thomas,⁷ though no work at the site itself had been undertaken since she found the tomb sealed by a large rock prior to 1966.⁸

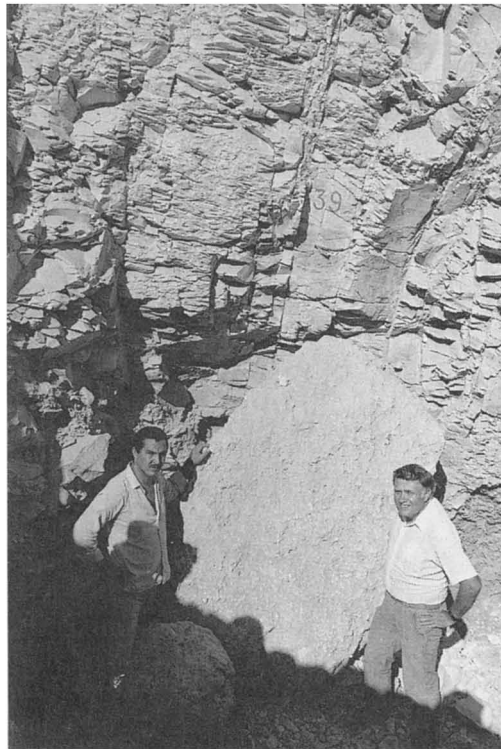


PLATE IV (Above) The location of KV 39; (below) John Rose and Inspector Ismail el-Masry standing beside the large rock in the tomb entrance.

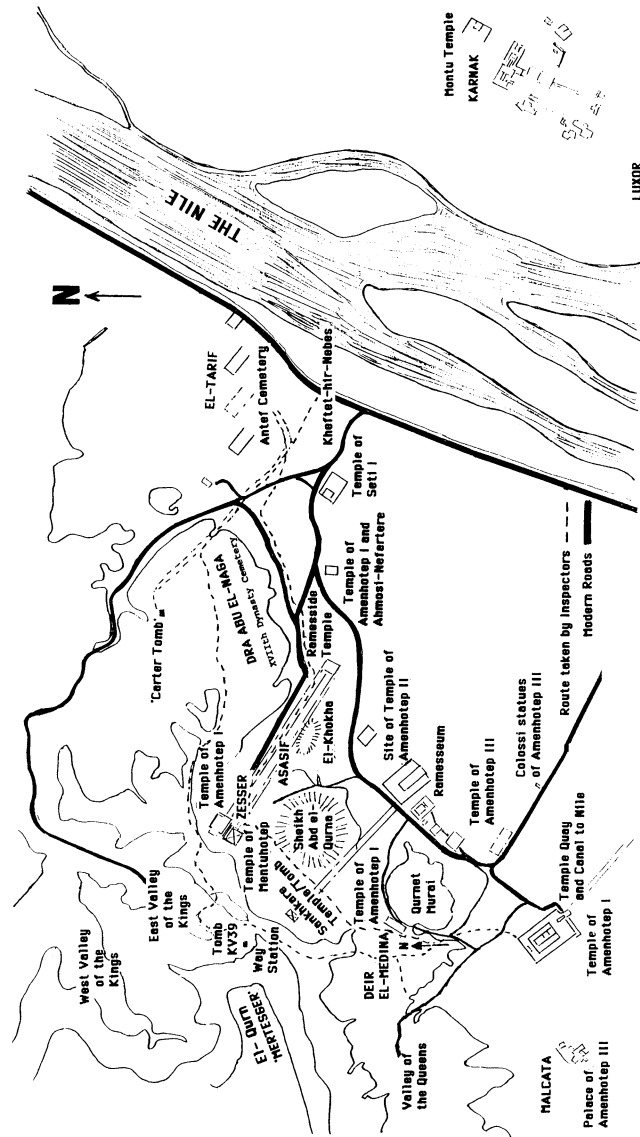


FIGURE 4 The Theban necropolis.

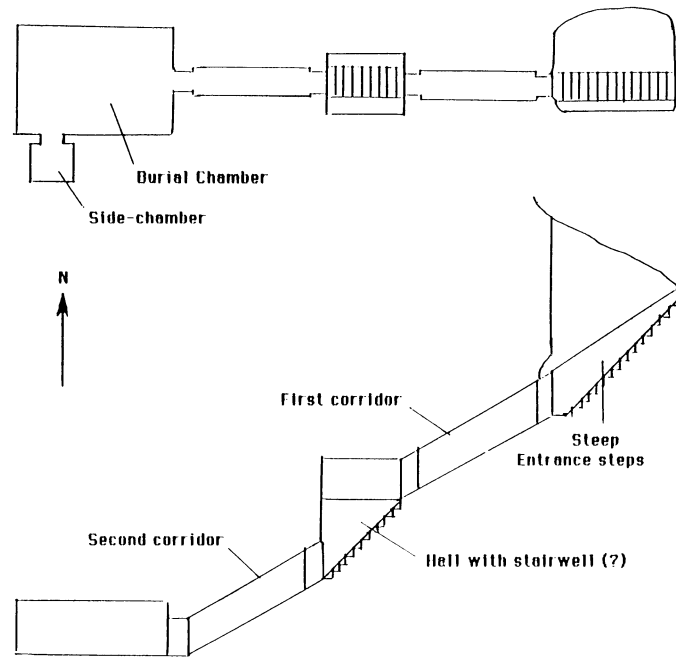


FIGURE 5 Tomb KV 39 — Valley of the Kings. Plan as envisaged by Elizabeth Thomas.

Recent work at the Tomb

The location of the clearance dump was carefully chosen to ensure that the aesthetics of the wadi topography would remain unspoilt. At the end of the project further work will be undertaken to ensure that the debris yet to be removed from the tomb interior will blend in with the natural profile of the wadi.

The amount of debris left by the original excavators took up considerable space around the tomb site, and it was necessary partially to clear this in order to make safe working-access to the entrance. The entrance stairwell itself was completely full of debris to a depth of about 7 m (see fig. 6). A large rock had fallen into the stairwell (see pl. IV, above),⁹ and it was necessary to break and remove it before the well could be cleared and the tomb entered. In the area in front of the entrance stairwell, provisionally designated as the forecourt, a trench 3 m wide was cleared through the existing debris down to bed-rock. About 2 m back into the forecourt a deposit of miniature pottery vessels was discovered in a hole cut into the rock immediately before the top step of the entrance stairway (see pl. V, above).¹⁰

At the top of the staircase a wall (see pl. V, above) of limestone boulders had been built, probably to prevent debris from falling back into the stairwell as the tomb was being partially cleared. Another wall was discovered further down the stairwell, and it could be seen that the original steps had been cut into poor shale rock and had worn away. This second wall had thus been necessary to give

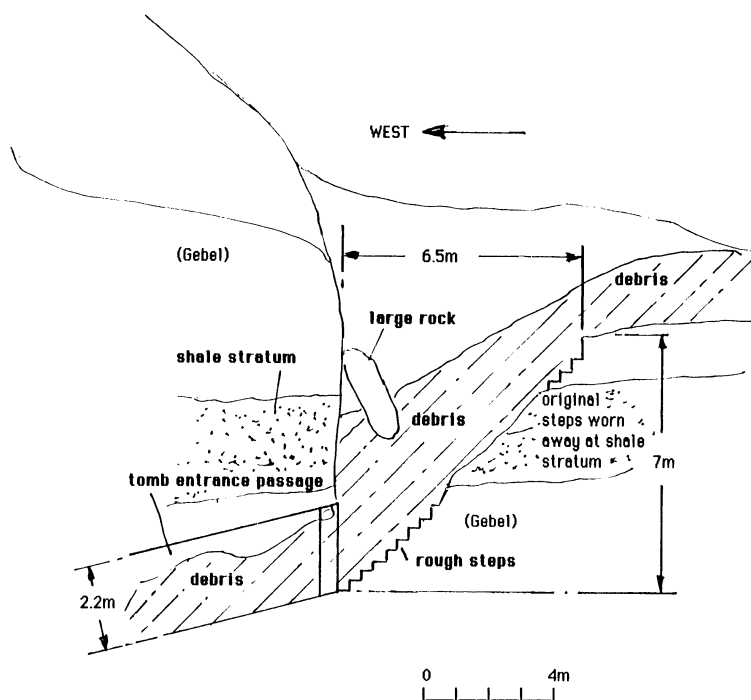


FIGURE 6 Tomb KV 39 — Valley of the Kings. Schematic section of entrance.

a sound platform from which the early twentieth-century excavators could work on clearing the tomb.¹¹

The tomb doorway and entrance passageway were almost completely blocked with debris, but there was sufficient space to allow access over the top. The interior of the tomb contains much debris — in no case can the original floor be seen. Passages, halls, and chambers are partially full, but none of the sections of wall which remain exposed bear any inscriptions or paintwork, despite the fact that Weigall's words might hint that there had been inscriptions at some time.¹² Because of the debris, it is not yet possible to take accurate measurements or offer an accurate description or tomb plan. However, it could be clearly seen that the design was quite different from that which had previously been reported. The schematic plan (see fig. 7) shows how radically the form differs from that envisaged by Thomas.

A Provisional Description of the Tomb

The following provisional description of the tomb should be studied in conjunction with the plan in fig. 7, but it should be noted that the dimensions given are approximate and the nomenclature informal. Precise dimensions and descriptions can only follow from clearance of the tomb.

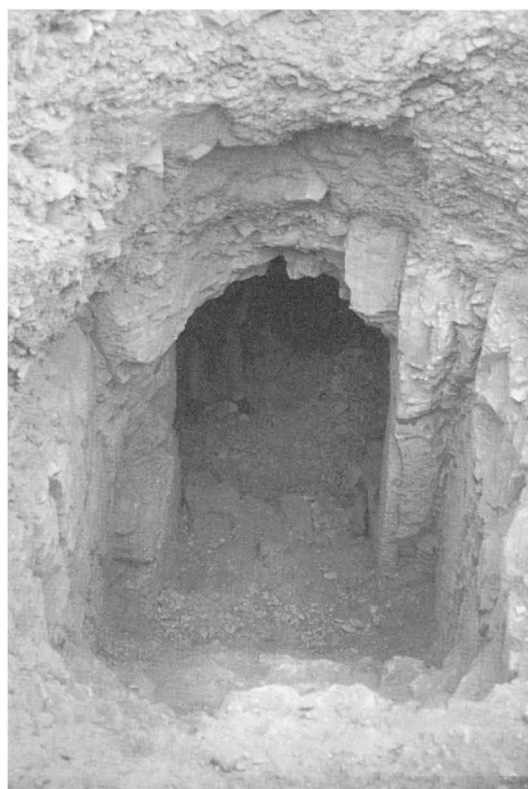


PLATE V (Left) Position of deposit of pottery, found one metre back from the dry-stone wall seen at the top of the stairwell; (right) the tomb doorway.

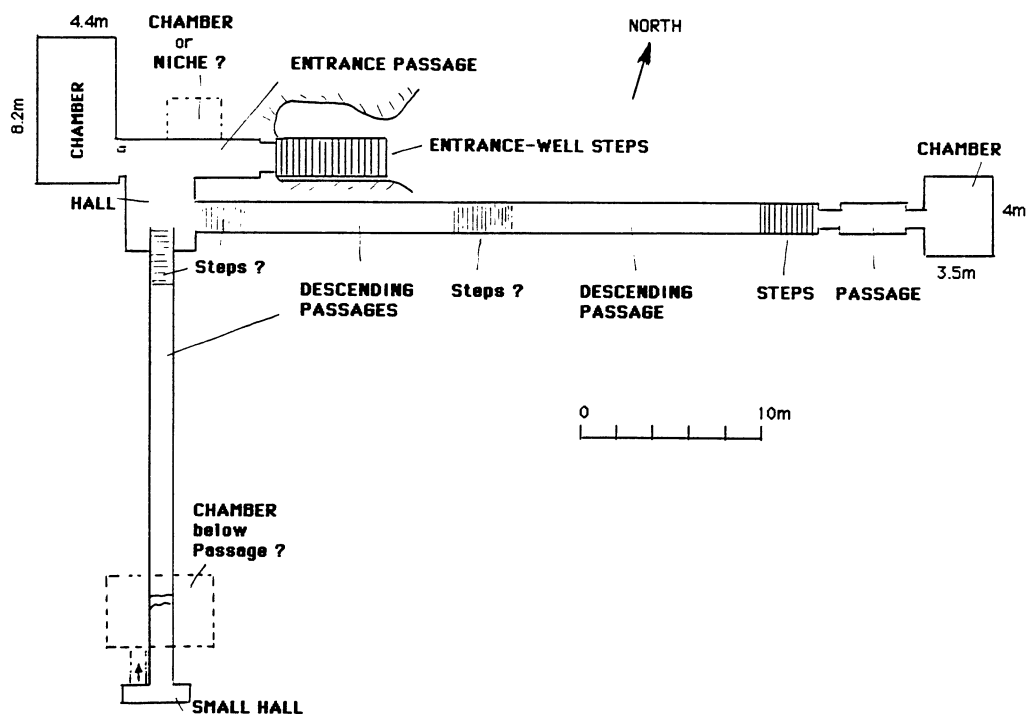


FIGURE 7 Tomb KV 39 — Valley of the Kings. Schematic plan of tomb.

The tomb entrance is approached via a steeply descending rough stairway,¹³ cut into the gebel to a depth of 7 m. Entrance is through a doorway 1.3 m wide and 2.2 m high (see pl. V, below). The lintel of the doorway is missing, there being little solid rock above, and what there was has broken away leaving a rough upper edge. The doorway has rough-cut jambs. A shallow descending passage 1.7 m wide by 6.7 m long, orientated approximately 20° south of west, leads directly to a small hall,¹⁴ beyond which is a chamber,¹⁵ 8.2 m by 4.4 m. The entrance to the chamber is through a low opening which has a man-made supporting pillar near one side.¹⁶ The hall and chamber are partially full of debris. In the northern side of the entrance passage there are signs of an exit, perhaps to a side chamber or merely a niche.¹⁷

In the hall are two entrances to descending passages. The largest of these begins at 180° to the entrance passage and descends very steeply eastwards into the floor of the wadi. It is well cut in most parts, about 2 m wide and quite high, and extends some 36 m, terminating in a rough flight of steps before a well-cut doorway 1.7 m wide with jambs 1 m thick. Beyond this doorway is a 3.5 m long horizontal passage, at the end of which is another well-cut doorway leading into a chamber 3.4 m by 4 m.¹⁸ This chamber is over half full of debris, and it is impossible to determine whether other exits or side chambers exist. A fissure in the rock runs diagonally across the ceiling and down the side of the doorway.

At the beginning of the main passage, and also at approximately half way down, may be other flights of steps, though the amount of debris with which it is encumbered makes it difficult at this stage to be certain. The angle of descent at these points, however, suggests that stairs would be necessary.¹⁹

The other passage from the upper hall is a roughly cut tunnel beginning at 90° to the entrance passage. It is much smaller in cross-section than the main passage and leads off directly southwards, descending very steeply and unevenly for a distance of about 25 m. It is not possible to be certain of this distance owing to the excessive amount of debris which in places virtually blocks the passage. The tunnel curves and undulates slightly from side to side; its true profile and orientation still require plotting. At the end of the tunnel is a very narrow hall about 1 m wide by 3 m long. Although this hall is virtually full of debris, there are signs of an exit at one end. This may lead to a lower-level chamber; for, a few metres back along the tunnel, an opening in the floor suggests the presence of a chamber below.²⁰

It is again important to note that considerable work in the clearance of both passages is necessary before accurate descriptions can be made. The present debris may be covering steps and niches, and possibly other chambers, but there is no sign of a protective well.²¹

Structural Condition of the Tomb

The nature of the rock in this part of the Valley of the Kings varies from good to poor. The stratification can be seen throughout the cutting of the tomb. In the entrance stairwell the steps begin in reasonable quality rock but, at a point a few metres down, the rock degenerates into a stratum of shale; consequently, the steps at this point have been completely worn away (cf. fig. 6). Restoration work or protective measures may be necessary in the future.

The position of the cutting of the tomb doorway seems to have been dictated by this same shale stratum, since the doorway is positioned just below it. This has resulted in some considerable weakness in the lintel area, which has consequently broken away. In the tomb itself this varying rock quality is also evident, the strata alternating between solid rock and poor quality shale. The fissure in the deepest part of the tomb reflects the concerns of the tomb builders, who seem to have been cutting deeper and deeper in search of good rock. While the tomb does not seem to be in an immediately dangerous condition, careful examination of the rock strata will be made to ascertain whether any restoration work is necessary.

Finds

Because the tomb had been entirely robbed (in antiquity?)²² and has been previously excavated, it was anticipated that finds would be few. Nevertheless, great care was exercised in the clearance work to ensure that any remaining items were

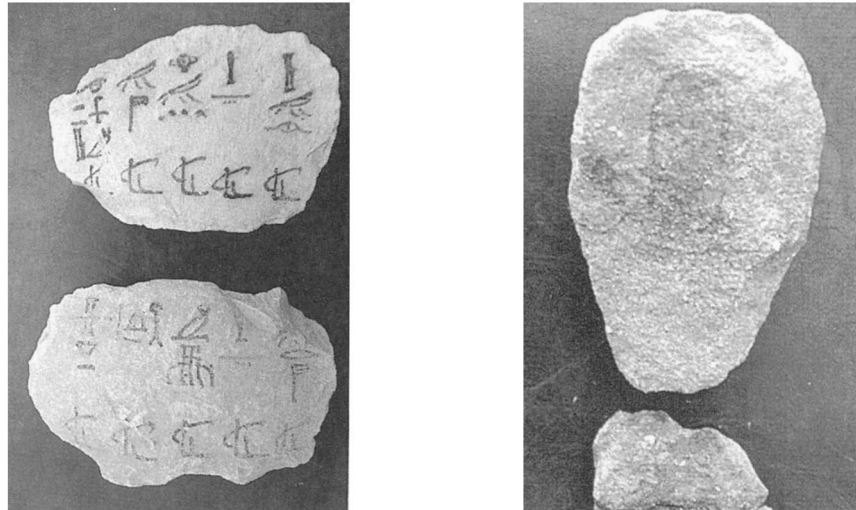


PLATE VI (Left) Two limestone ostraca; (right) piece of sandstone with cartouche.

recovered.²³ The finds from clearance of the courtyard and entrance stairwell fall into two categories:²⁴

Category A. Items considered to be ancient artefacts from the tomb and from the activities of the ancient Egyptians. Into this category fell some 60 items, including:

- two limestone ostraca (see pl. VI, left), each inscribed with five vertical lines of cursive hieroglyphs;
- remains of a mummified bird or food-offering;
- a group of small ceramic vessels, both complete and broken, comprising bowls, jars and cups (see pl. VII, above);
- parts of a limestone offering table (see pl. VII, below);
- a small piece of alabaster (calcite), possibly the base of a miniature vessel;²⁵
- eight sandstone pieces (cf. pl. VI, right), each carrying a cartouche (tentatively, the prenoms of Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II(?), and Amenophis II) applied in blue paint;²⁶
- four small bronze tools;
- miscellaneous items, including an agate peg, an agate bead, a faience bead, a chip of blue faience, fragments of coloured plaster, two fragments of gold leaf, fragments of mummy bandage, and a flexible, tapered, reed basket-like object, hundreds of potsherds, fragments of wood, bones, teeth, rope (possibly a lamp-wick), plant seeds, etc.

Category B. Items considered to be modern, associated with the activities of the original excavators and later visitors. In this category were:

- numerous scraps of Arabic newspaper;
- some hand-written Arabic notes;
- wrappers from modern consumable goods;
- a range of litter from site visitors.



PLATE VII (Above) Selection of pottery from foundation deposit; (below) limestone offering-table fragments.

There was nothing among these finds to suggest that any other excavation work had been carried out since the tomb's discovery at the turn of the century.

Concluding Remarks

The first season's work revealed that the tomb layout is significantly different from the original descriptions of the tomb given by Weigall and others. These descriptions were insufficient to allow Elizabeth Thomas to produce an accurate tomb plan, which has led to later analyses of the tomb being wrongly based. The number of finds recovered so far suggests that the tomb was not exhaustively cleared by the original discoverers/excavators.

A full understanding of the tomb's role in the Valley of the Kings requires that an accurate description and plan be provided and that all finds (ancient and modern) be properly recorded and analysed. The approximate dimensions given in this report are provided solely for the purpose of indicating the overall size of the tomb. The temptation to draw conclusions from the first season's work should be resisted, since the present amount of debris both inside and outside the tomb may conceal important evidence. Work will continue in the coming seasons, and an holistic approach to the excavation and recording, and to the subsequent analysis, will be taken. The apparent absence of inscriptions in the tomb will prevent epigraphy being a 'priority' and will direct attention to the archaeological context of the tomb.²⁷

Notes

- 1 E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 98, n. 54.
- 2 op. cit. 74.
- 3 A. E. P. Weigall, *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt* (London, 1910), 223 ff. The guide was published in May 1910, but Weigall dated his Preface 1909; he must, therefore, have entered the tomb at a prior date — hence c. 1908.
- 4 Weigall, 'The tomb of Amenhotep 1st', *ASAE* 11 (1911), 12, 174–5.
- 5 Papyrus Abbott (BM EA 10221): T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930), pl. 1.
- 6 Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, 85, fig. 9. Four descriptions attributed to Weigall are cited by Thomas, op. cit. 74, and each as an independent description of a specific part of the tomb is probably correct. Because she had not been in the tomb herself, Thomas had to make assumptions, based on Weigall's descriptions, about the original order and direction of layout of the chamber, tunnel, burial hall, and a further chamber referred to by him. In so doing, Thomas also assimilated into her plan the evidence of other early Eighteenth Dynasty tombs such as KV 32.
- 7 A. Dodson, 'The Tombs of the Kings of the early Eighteenth Dynasty', *ZÄS* 115 (1988), 110 ff. In this article, Dodson reviews the evidence and literature relating to the tombs of Amosis, Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I, and Tuthmosis II, and other (unidentified) tombs in the Valley. He cites Thomas's plan, and forms opinions based on this. C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings. The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London, 1990), 3 ff., discusses the burial of Amenophis I and the claims of two tombs which

- have variously been ascribed to him: KV 39, and a tomb at Dra 'Abu'n-Naga, AN B, cleared by Howard Carter in 1913/14.
- 8 Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, 74: 'the large block that now prevents ingress. . . .'
- 9 Presumably the large block reported by Thomas (n. 8 above).
- 10 Miss Thomas notes in *Royal Necropoleis* that 'The immediate vicinity of the entrance has apparently never been examined for foundation deposits'. Cf. generally on such deposits J. Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt* (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1973).
- 11 These dry-stone walls seem to be of modern construction, but none of Weigall's descriptions includes this feature. Perhaps, when Weigall visited the tomb, his 'rough steps' included the wall, or (less likely) they were built since then.
- 12 Weigall, *Guide*, 224, reported that 'No inscriptions remain . . .', and, *ASAE* 11, 174, 'No inscriptions remain upon the walls . . .'.
- 13 Weigall, *Guide*, 224: 'The tomb is entered down a rough flight of steps . . .'.
- 14 Possibly the first of those chambers mentioned in Weigall's descriptions: *Guide*, 224, and *ASAE* 11, 174. This hall, however, seems to have been formed as a secondary modification to the original design. The tomb may have been initially constructed as a simple straight-line tomb with a chamber at the end, the small hall having been cut later into the end of the entrance corridor, prior to the upper chamber, to make a vestibule into other passages.
- 15 Possibly the second chamber and ruined burial hall in Weigall's description: *Guide*, 224, and *ASAE* 11, 174 respectively.
- 16 Since there is a considerable amount of debris present, it is not possible to judge the actual height of the chamber or the opening.
- 17 Possibly the side chamber in Weigall's descriptions, but not in the position indicated by Mrs Smith.
- 18 Probably the burial hall of Weigall's descriptions in Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, 74, and Weigall, *Guide*, 224, and *ASAE* 11, 174.
- 19 Only one flight of stairs is shown on Thomas's plan. This is the one referred to from memory by Mrs Smith in Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, 74. The actual position of those steps now visible before the burial chamber in the eastward corridor accords with Thomas's plan, but it is followed by a short passage rather than a long descending one (cf. fig. 7). Thomas's plan is, of course, based on an assumption that the corridor was a westward one.
- 20 This tunnel does not seem to have been mentioned by Weigall; for the chamber(s) at its end do not correspond to any of his descriptions and he does not refer to two tunnels.
- 21 The absence of a protective well was mentioned by Weigall, *ASAE* 11, 174. He states: 'there is no well in the tomb, and hence it is earlier than the time of Tuthmosis II, who was the first king to make a well in his tomb.'
- 22 The tomb as found by Macarios and Andraos seems to have been robbed, Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis*, 98 n. 54. As far as I am able to ascertain, no items from the tomb have ever surfaced. Weigall, in *A History of the Pharaohs*, II (London, 1927), 263, refers to the tomb as one which is 'entirely robbed, and lies open . . .'. It would be reasonable to assume that the tomb had, therefore, been robbed in antiquity.
- 23 The number of items recovered indicates that the forecourt and tomb entrance were not properly cleared at the time of the discovery.
- 24 A selection of the more important items only is given. All items from both categories will be dealt with in detail elsewhere when the tomb clearance has been completed.
- 25 Slightly tapered, truncated form, 3.5 cm by 3 cm.
- 26 These pieces are on average 8 cm high by 5 cm wide by 2 cm thick. They may be

rough identity docket of some kind, though they lack the attachment hole found on the wooden examples of such dockets.

- 27 D. Polz, 'Excavation and Recording of a Theban tomb. Some Remarks on Recording Methods', in J. Assmann, G. Burkard, and V. Davies (eds.), *Problems and Priorities in Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1987), 119–40. In his conclusion, Polz suggests that there is a certain imbalance towards epigraphy in investigating Theban tombs.

A Preliminary Report on the Re-clearance of the Tomb of Amenophis III (WV 22)

JIRO KONDO

Introduction

THE re-clearance of the tomb of Amenophis III by Waseda University Egypt Archaeological Mission (WUEAM) was carried out over three seasons: September 18 to 28, 1989; December 18, 1989 to January 9, 1990; and March 12 to April 1, 1990. The principal team members were Professor Kiyohiko Sakurai (general director of the mission), Associate Professor Sakuji Yoshimura (acting director), Jiro Kondo (field director), Dr Shoji Tonouchi, Professor Yoshimichi Emoto, Kichisaburo Hirota, Takao Kikuchi, Shigeji Nakada, Hiroyuki Kawamura, Nozomu Kawai, Tadashi Moriya, and Eiji Saito. The Egyptian Antiquities Organization was represented by Mr Mohammed Abd Allah (inspector of el-Qurna).

Historical Background

The tomb of Amenophis III (WV 22) was discovered in August, 1799, by two French engineers, Jollois and Devilliers, members of the expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte.¹ They made a plan of and excavated within the tomb, recovering several fine fragments of stone royal shabtis. We can find their plan of the tomb and attractive drawings of these shabtis in the *Description de l’Egypte*.² In 1829 Champollion visited the tomb, and he was the first to identify the owner as Amenophis III.³ After that Lepsius⁴ and Loret⁵ copied some scenes of *Imy-Duat* on the walls of the sarcophagus chamber (Room J).

In 1905–14, Theodore M. Davis carried out his excavation of the tomb. Unfortunately, we do not have any details of this work.⁶ From February 8 to March 8, 1915, Howard Carter made a complete clearance of the interior of WV 22 on behalf of the fifth Earl of Carnarvon. Carter also excavated outside the entrance of the tomb, where he discovered five intact foundation deposits. These foundation deposits consisted of the heads of calves, miniature pottery vessels, model implements, and blue faience cartouche-plaques bearing the prenomen and nomen

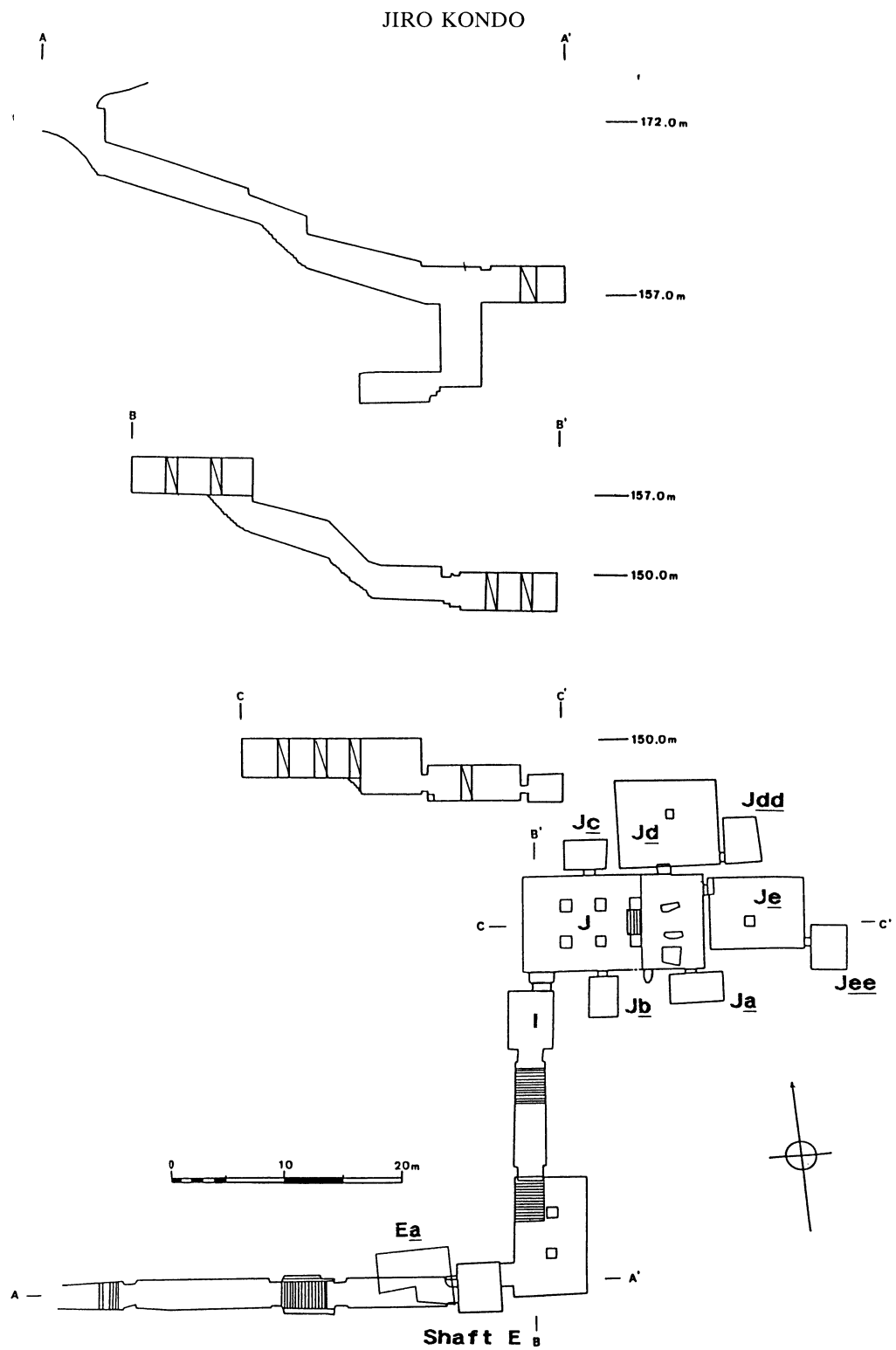


FIGURE 8 The tomb of Amenophis III (WV 22).

The Tomb of Amenophis III

of Tuthmosis IV, father of Amenophis III.⁷ Several objects from Carter's clearance are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and at Highclere Castle, Newbury.⁸ Carter's field record of the clearance is kept in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

In 1959 Piankoff and Hornung visited the tomb and described, in *MDAIK* 17 (1961), the texts and scenes, excluding the *Imy-Duat*, on the walls and pillars of the tomb.⁹ In 1960 Elizabeth Thomas made observations inside the tomb. She measured some parts of it and published a good plan and elevations in her book, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*.¹⁰

The Location and Plan of the Tomb

The tomb of Amenophis III is that now numbered 22 (WV 22), located in the Western Valley of the Kings. There are five known tombs in this valley: WV 22; WV 23 (the tomb of Ay); WV 24; WV 25; and WV A.¹¹ The archaeological clearance of WV 23 and WV 25 was carried out in 1972 by the University of Minnesota Egyptian Expedition (UMEE).¹²

Waseda University Egypt Archaeological Mission started its re-clearance of WV 22 in September of 1989. Before work began, we surveyed the area and produced a 1:1000 topographical map of the Western Valley. Subsequently, we made an archaeological clearance of the interior of WV 22 in order to establish the exact plan and elevations of the tomb. According to the elevations, WV 22 is cut into a sloping hillside, at 172 m above sea level. The floor level of the sarcophagus chamber is about 145 m above sea level. The distance from the entrance to the rear wall of the sarcophagus chamber is approximately 85m (see fig. 8). The plan of the tomb is similar to that of the tomb of Amenophis II (KV 35) and that of Tuthmosis IV (KV 43),¹³ exhibiting a particularly close resemblance to the plan of the latter.

The evidence from the foundation-deposits, and the Horus Names of the King's *ka*¹⁴ on the walls of the protective well (Shaft E), show that originally work on WV 22 was begun by Tuthmosis IV. Tuthmosis IV had his own tomb, KV 43, in the main Valley of the Kings; why he should have chosen to establish a tomb in the Western Valley also is not known.

Shaft E and Room Ea

Shaft E and Room Ea were completely cleared by Carter. He called them 'Protective Well' and 'Well Chamber'.¹⁵ In the bottom of Shaft E there are many stone blocks, piled up systematically by Carter as if to form a gentle ramp. No sand and pebbles remain in the shaft, the depth of which is about 7.5 m. The floor level of Room Ea, which extends to the west, is approximately 0.8 m lower than the bottom of the shaft. The chisel cuts on the western part of the room's north wall are quite different from those on the east part. Therefore, we presume that the west half of the room was enlarged later. The debris from Carter's clearance

of Room *Ea* has been stacked in the western, extended part of this room to a height of about 1 m. This debris has not yet been re-examined.

Room I

The floor of Room I was covered with sand and rubble to a depth of 50 cm. However, this debris had been disturbed before our clearance. During removal of the sand and rubble, a number of fragments of pottery and painted plaster were recovered, as well as various small objects.

Room *Jd*

At the north-west corner of Room *Jd*, there was a large stack of debris from a previous clearance, surrounded with stone walls on the south and east sides. The area of the stack is 4 m × 4.5 m and 1 m in height. To judge from the quantity of the debris, this dump is not from Carter's clearance but from that by one of the former excavators, probably Theodore M. Davis; according to Carter's records, his clearance was concentrated in Shaft E and Room *Ea* inside the tomb. We checked this dump very carefully by using a sieve, recovering fragments of painted plaster from the walls and ceiling, wooden objects, pottery, stone vessels, and various small objects. After checking the dump, we stacked it at the north-east corner of the room. The debris from our own clearance of the room (*Jd*) is stacked at the south-west corner of the room. The debris from our clearance of Rooms I, J, *Ja*, *Jb*, *Jc*, *Jdd*, *Je*, and *Jee* was also brought to the room and added to the dump at the south-west corner.

The Present Condition of the Paintings

The walls and ceilings of the room J (the sarcophagus chamber), I and the shaft E (the protective well) were decorated and painted almost completely. The room *Je* was partially decorated with *hkr* friezes.¹⁶ On the east wall of room E and north wall of room I, it is clear that the paintings were executed over the sealed doorways.

The paintings on the walls have been badly damaged by salt efflorescence. The decorated plaster has gradually separated from the bed rock; the lower portion seems to have fallen completely away. Cracks in the pillars have expanded, damaging the paintings on them. Conservation was clearly a priority, commencing, in collaboration with our Egyptian colleagues, in March 1990 with the paintings on the walls and the pillars of the sarcophagus chamber. We intend to clean and conserve all the paintings and decorations on the walls and ceilings of the tomb.

The Lid of the Sarcophagus

The red-granite lid of the sarcophagus is broken into two main pieces, with which may be associated several lesser fragments of differing sizes. Before our clearance of the tomb, the two main fragments were lying overturned. We turned them upright and gathered together the small fragments in one place. Originally this lid was about 300 cm in length and 134 cm in width. On the upper surface there is a long central column of text and eight short horizontal bands. The central column contains the familiar prayer addressed by the king, Amenophis III, to the goddess Nut. Eight horizontal bands consist of dedications of the king to the eight gods: Hapy, Anubis-khenty-seḥ-netjer, Horus-Avenger-of-his-Father, Horus, Imseti, Anubis-imy-wet, Duamutef, and Geb. Incised on the under surface are the figure of the winged Nut, *wedjat*-eyes, and further texts.¹⁷

The decoration and texts of the lid have been studied in detail by W. C. Hayes.¹⁸ Though not reported by Hayes, we found a little gold still remained on several parts of the upper surface of the lid. As Hayes noted, not a single fragment of the sarcophagus itself has been found either in the tomb or elsewhere.¹⁹ We searched for the fragments of the sarcophagus chest during our clearance, but without result.

Foundation-Deposit

Carter discovered five foundation-deposits outside the entrance of the tomb in February of 1915. They consisted of three primary deposits (central, right-side, and left-side) and two secondary deposits near the two side deposits.²⁰

He reported: 'These deposits were deposited in small holes cut in the rock, filled with whitish (local) sand from the valley bed, and they were covered by a thin layer of the natural desert rubble. The objects were placed in the holes *en masse*: the only visible order was that the flesh offerings (i.e., heads and joints of calves) were always on the top and they were invariably followed by the pottery groups.'²¹

The foundation-deposits Carter discovered outside the entrance of WV 22 consisted (according to his listing²²) of the following:

- Four heads and the lower part of the forelegs of calves.
- 150 small rough red pottery cups, saucers and vases. Some of the cups contained a green material, resinous substances, specimens of mortar, nebek-fruits, dates, and grape seeds (the grapes probably decayed).
- 99 blue faience plaques, bearing the prenomen and nomen of Tuthmosis IV (53 prenomen and 45 nomen plaques. One was uninscribed)

Some blue faience beads.
Eight bronze model chisels.
Three bronze model adzes.
Two bronze model axes.
Two bronze model knives.
Three wooden model hoes.

One wooden brick mould.
Two limestone miniature vases.
One alabaster miniature saucer.
Two rush-made sieves.
One rush-made tray.
One bundle of strips of leather.

Two wooden adzes.	One sample of papyrus fibre.
Two wooden symbolic rope knots.	One sample of wood (wedge-shaped).
Two wooden model cradles.	One clean white-stone pebble.

We excavated outside the entrance of the tomb for traces of Carter's clearance. In the course of the work we found a layer of dark-coloured sand and rubble with fragments of various materials. To judge from a piece of newspaper found within this layer, it is probably the dump from Carter's clearance of the tomb interior.

We could not confirm the location of the foundation-deposits, which Carter found outside the entrance. However, another small intact foundation-deposit was discovered in the south section of our trench while excavating. This foundation-deposit, we found, was placed at only 35 cm beneath the surface and about 60 cm above the bed rock. It seems originally to have been placed on the surface of the ground, rather than in a hole cut in the rock. This deposit consisted of the head and small bones of a calf, five miniature pottery vessels, a wooden model cradle and a symbolic wooden rope knot. The objects were put in a rush basket, about 25 cm in diameter. The head of the calf was placed on the top of the deposit.

Selected Finds

Two faces from faience shabti figures of Queen Tiye(?)

Two very fine yellow faience faces of a Queen(?) were unearthed during our clearance of the tomb. One was from Room Jc, another from the dump in Room Jd. The height of both faces is approximately 3.2 cm and the width 2.8 cm. The total height from the top to the bottom end, the base of the neck, is about 4.6 cm. One of the faces has the left ear and a small part of the dark blue coloured headdress preserved.

Carter found a large fragment of a faience shabti figure from the well chamber (Room Ea). This fragment consists of the shoulders, arms and portion of the body. Carter reported, 'Only the body of the material remains, but there is enough to show that the headdress was of violet glaze, the hands yellow glaze'.²³ This shabti, now at Highclere Castle, has a socket for a face to be fitted. To judge from the size and the shape of the socket, this shabti was originally fitted with a face similar to those which we found inside the tomb.

Fragments of a lotus-shaped faience collar-terminal

Three fragments of a lotus-shaped faience collar terminal were recovered from the layer of Carter's dump outside the entrance of the tomb. The lotus petals are inlaid with blue and green faience. The back parts of this collar terminal, now in the Highclere collection, were excavated from 'the rubbish' of the protective well (Shaft E) by Carter in 1915.²⁴

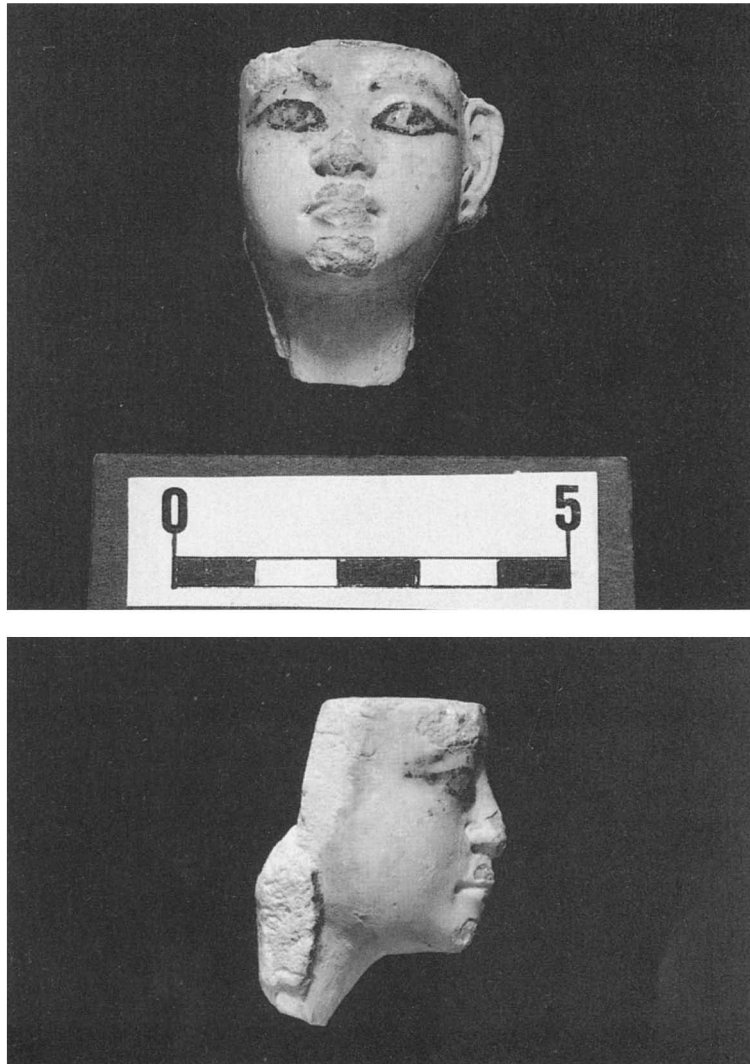


PLATE VIII Yellow faience face from a shabti figure of Queen Tiye(?), front and side views.

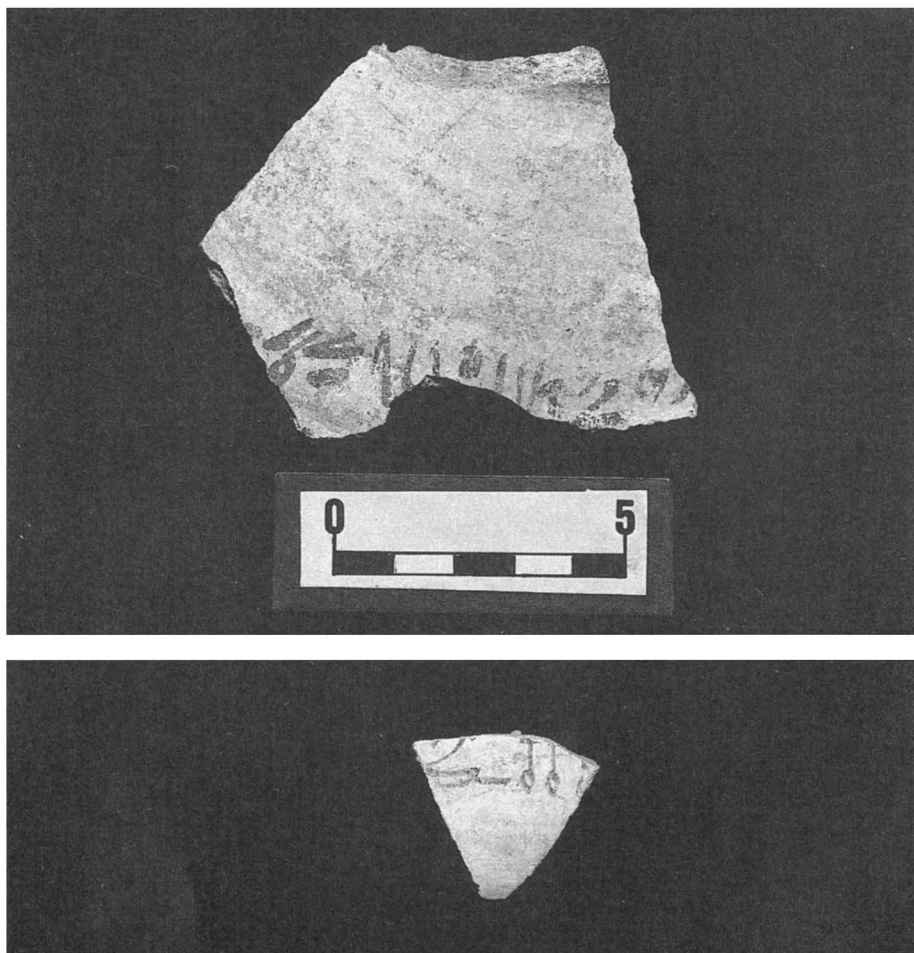


PLATE IX Hieratic jar labels 1 and 2.



PLATE X (Above) Calf's head atop foundation deposit, as first revealed; (below) the elements of the foundation deposit.

Fragments of a blue faience bracelet

We found inside the tomb three fragments of a blue faience bracelet bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions in light blue. The largest fragment carries the cartouched prenomen of Amenophis III, *nb t3wy* (*Nb-m3't-R'*). The hieroglyphs on the other two fragments are as follows: *hr nst. f* and *dt 'nh*. They are similar to fragments which Carter brought to light during his clearance, now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fragments of shabti figures of Amenophis III

We recovered two fragments of feet from two stone shabtis. Each of them has the cartouched prenomen of Amenophis III. One fragment is of green serpentine; the material of the other fragment is not yet identified but under study. We also found fragments of faces and feet from wooden shabti figures. These consist of fragments of three faces, two sides of faces, and six feet. One of the faces has four holes, for the inlaid eyes and for the two royal emblems; it also has two sockets on the back for attachment to the head. Two other faces are fragmentary. The six wooden foot fragments are inscribed with the shabti formula from the *Book of the Dead*. On the bottom surface of one of these fragments, an *ankh* or *ma'at* sign is drawn in black ink.

Jar labels

Three jar labels were recovered. Two of them (JL-1 and JL-2) are from the interior of the tomb. The other (JL-3) is from the layer of Carter's dump outside the entrance of the tomb:

1. Jar label No. 1 (JL-1): . . . *p3 III-nw [n] hb-sd* . . . , ' . . . the third jubilee . . . '. We found this jar label in Room I. The third jubilee (sed festival) of Amenophis III took place in years 37 and 38 of his reign. There are only twenty-seven jar labels which date to the third jubilee, all of which come from the palace of Malkata.²⁶ We may presume that some of the pottery vessels used for the third jubilee of Amenophis III were brought from Malkata for his funeral.
2. Jar label No. 2 (JL-2): [*lrp*] *nfr nfr n p3 [hb-sd or bwt]* . . . , 'very good [wine] of the [jubilee or place]'.²⁷ This jar label was unearthed from the debris which had been stacked in Room Jd.
3. Jar label No. 3 (JL-3): . . . *nfr n Sin* . . . , ' . . . good (wine) of Sin[y]'. *Siny* should be identified as Pelusium.²⁸

Wooden labels

We found two wooden labels from the layer of Carter's dump. According to Carter's notes, he recovered nine wooden labels from the well chamber (Room Ea) on the 2 March, 1915: 'Fragments of wooden labels inscribed in hieratic. Nine labels in total.'²⁹ He did not record the hieratic inscriptions on them, and the labels cannot now be located. Our labels probably came from the same place (Room Ea). These two labels have a rounded top, a small hole in their upper part, and hieratic inscriptions on one face. Similar wooden labels are reported

from the palace of Malkata and from the tomb of Tut^{ankhamūn}.³⁰ The two examples from the palace of Malkata refer to fresh *ben-oil*. Our examples also refer to *ben-oil*:³¹

1. Wooden label No. 1 (WL-1): height 4.4 cm, width 2.9 cm, thickness 0.35 cm. *b3k, tpy n, . . . ḥw wd3 snb*: ‘*ben-oil*, the first (quality) of, . . . (l.p.h.)’.
2. Wooden label No. 2 (WL-2): height 4.7 cm, thickness 0.35 cm. One half of the label is lost. It carries three lines of text.

The inscriptions on the first and second lines are the same on those of WL-1. However, the inscriptions on the third line of WL-2 are apparently different from those of WL-1: *b3k, [t]py n, [. . .]-r-ḥ3*, ‘*ben-oil*, the first (quality) of . . . -*r-ḥ3*? There are four hieratic signs in the third line. We can identify them as *r* (D21), stroke (Z1), *ḥ3* (M12),³² and a further sign which is the determinative for a foreign place. We presume that . . . -*r-ḥ3* is a place name, perhaps *T-r-ḥ3*.³³

Objects of Lapis Lazuli

1. A *uraeus* head, length 1.4 cm, width 1.3 cm, height 0.9 cm. The eyes of the head are inlaid with gold and black stone. The head has a small socket at the back to fit into a *uraeus* body.
2. *ib*-shaped amulet, height 2.3 cm, width 1.8 cm.
3. *Nekhbet*-headdress-shaped plaque, width 4.0 cm. A part of the end of the wing is lost. This plaque comes originally from an inlaid figure of a queen or goddess, presumably set into a wooden panel.

A wooden uraeus body

Height 8.2 cm. We found the body of a wooden *uraeus* in Carter’s dump outside the entrance of the tomb. Traces of blue and white colour remain on the surface. It has lost its head but is almost complete. We believe that it was originally the *uraeus* from the forehead of a royal statue, rather than one from a frieze decorating a wooden shrine or chest.

Fragments of wooden coffins

Three fragments of wooden coffins with inscriptions have been recovered. One of them has the inscription: . . . *lm3hy hr ntr 3 nb pt s3 wn ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd 3 wr tp n ʾImn Ns[-ḥnmw?] m3 ʿḥrw*, ‘. . . one revered by the great god, the lord of the heaven, the son (of) the doorkeeper (of) Khons-pekhered, the great great one, the first one³⁴ of Amūn, Nes[khnum?], justified.’ The name of the owner of this coffin has been lost, but the titles and name of his father remain. This is the same fragment that Carter discovered among the debris of the protective well (Shaft E), to judge from the inscription on it.³⁵ Another two were fragments of the coffin for Pedihorresnet. One has ‘. . . *pr ʾImn P3-di-ḥr-rsnt* . . . , ʿ. . . (of) the estate of Amūn, Pedihorresnet, . . . ?, Osiris Pe[dihorresne]’. These fragments Carter had evidently left inside the tomb.

Carter recorded another inscription on another fragment of a coffin he found in Shaft E; *nbt pr t3- . . . s m3[t]- [ḥrw] . . . mwt.s T3-bis-hr-ib. t(?) m3[t]-ḥrw*,

‘the housewife Ta[. . .]s, justified, her mother (is) Tabisheribet (?), justified’. This coffin fragment has not yet been recovered. On the basis of the titles and names, we believe that these coffins are to be assigned to the Saite period.

Other fragments

We recovered a number of other fragments of various objects during the course of our clearance of the tomb. Although we cannot describe all of them in detail here, they may be briefly listed as follows:

Fragments of polychrome glass vessels.

Fragment of a vessel, perhaps of glassy faience, with the cartouched prenomen and nomen of Amenophis III and the name of Queen Tiye.

Fragments of faience vessels, including examples with the cartouches of Amenophis III.

Wooden fragments, inscribed with the name of Queen Tiye.

Fragments of stone vessels.

Fragments of ebony veneer, one inscribed with the nomen of Amenophis III.

Fragments of human mummies and bones.

A number of fragments of wooden objects.

A number of fragments of pottery.

A number of small fragments of painted plaster from the walls and ceilings of the tomb.

Acknowledgements

In closing this report, we should like to express our thanks to the Committee of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (EAO) for granting permission to carry out the project, in particular to the Chairman Dr Sayed Tawfiq, and the Supervisor for Upper Egypt, Mr Mutaua Balbush. Our thanks go also to Dr Mohammed el-Sughayer, General Director for Luxor, Dr Mohammed Nasr, Director of el-Qurna, Dr el-Sayed Aly Hegazy, Director of the Temples of Karnak and Luxor, Mr Magdy el-Molla, Chief Inspector of el-Qurna, and to our Inspector, Mr Mohammed Abd Allah, and the staffs of EAO for facilitating our work. We should similarly like to thank Dr Nicholas Reeves for the opportunity of presenting a report at Highclere on our recent work at the tomb of Amenophis III. He has kindly given much information about Carter’s clearance of WV 22, and made suggestions concerning our work. Thanks are also due to Associate Professor Sakuji Yoshimura and Professor Kiyohiko Sakurai for permission to make this preliminary report on the work of Waseda University Egypt Archaeological Mission, Tokyo, and to Professor A. F. Shore for encouraging our work in the University of Liverpool.

Notes

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- 8 C. N. Reeves, *Ancient Egypt at Highclere Castle* (Highclere, 1989); id., 'Earl of Carnarvon presents Finds from Highclere', *British Museum Society Bulletin* 61 (1989), 28–9.
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- 14 The Horus Name on the walls is that of Tuthmosis IV, *k3-nḥt-twt-ḥ'w*, rather than that of Amenophis III, *k3-nḥt-ḥ'-m-m3't*. Cf. Lepsius, op. cit., *Text*, III (1900), 221–2.
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- 18 Ibid., 123–32, 170–1, 184–204, pl. XVI, XVII, XIX, XX.
- 19 Ibid., 29, 123, 171; Thomas, op. cit. 84.
- 20 H. Carter, MSS, GI I. A. 139 (1–5).
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Akhenaten and Nefernefruaten in the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*

J. R. HARRIS

THE finds from the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn include a surprising number of objects inscribed with the names of others: officials, ancestral royalty, and members of the Amarna court — notably Akhenaten and 'Ankhkheprurē': Nefernefruaten.¹ A very few of these objects may not in fact have belonged to the burial, but the majority certainly did, whatever the reasons for their inclusion.

The presence of some intrusive items cannot be discounted, in view of the state of the tomb and its early vicissitudes. When Tut'ankhamūn was buried, the passage was probably empty except for the refuse embalming material, but after the tomb had been broken into (right through to the Treasury) the refuse embalming material was removed to the cache and the passage was filled up with rubble brought in from outside. When intruders broke in for a second time, a tunnel was made through this filling and some of the rubble pushed out again, and then, when the tunnel in turn was blocked, more rubble was introduced. The status of objects that came from the debris outside on the staircase or in the passage itself is therefore equivocal: small items may have been dropped by robbers or carried in accidentally with the rubble, and then, in the course of subsequent tidying-up, have been thrown into boxes or tossed through into the Annexe.²

Apart from the vintners recorded on wine-jar dockets,³ none of whom had to do with the tomb, the names of four other officials occur, on nine objects in all. They are the overseer of the treasury Maya, the military officer Nakhtmin,⁴ a scribe Tuthmosis, and a vizier Pentu — the name of the last on a wine-jar, Obj.no.490, and, therefore, of doubtful relevance.⁵ In the case of Maya and Nakhtmin the inscriptions are dedications on funerary gifts, all of them placed in the Treasury where they were found untouched,⁶ whereas the name of the scribe Tuthmosis is written in ink on the concave base of a calcite stand, Obj.no.620(116)=620(122), from under the debris thrown into the Annexe. The graffito reads simply 'the scribe Tuthmosis, the son of Ḥatiay',⁷ and the name of the father suggests that this is the same Tuthmosis who, in year 8 of Ḥaremḥab, had a hand in renewing the burial of Tuthmosis IV, acting as Maya's assistant.⁸ If so, it is probable that he scribbled his name on the stand when engaged in a similar task in the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn, although perhaps at a slightly earlier period.⁹

Activity of this kind would indeed be further confirmed if a sealing, type 'Q', on objects both in the Treasury and in the Burial Chamber were clearly identifiable as belonging to Ḥaremḥab.¹⁰ The reading, however, is questionable and the signs are not in a cartouche — nor would one expect the nomen alone to be found in this context. A fragmentary sealing, 'S', with parts of the two cartouches of Ay, from the floor of the Antechamber, may, on the other hand, point to a formal inspection connected with robbery, although it may equally date from the time of the actual burial and relate to a ritual gift or to some action performed by Ay as the rightful heir, as on the walls of the Burial Chamber.

Objects associated, directly or indirectly, with four of Tut'ankhamūn's predecessors as king were among the material found in the tomb, although it is evident that, for the most part, their presence had little to do with ancestral *pietas*.

Two of the calcite vessels stacked on the floor of the Annexe, Obj.nos.404 and 410, display the cartouches of Tuthmosis III, but, like the vessel of Ḥatshepsut from the king's household at el-'Amarna,¹¹ they were doubtless no more than convenient storage containers, taken presumably from a royal magazine. A glazed steatite scarab with the prenomen of Tuthmosis III, Obj.no.1*a*, was found in the rubbish that filled the staircase in front of the entrance, and one of two blue glass persea fruits, Obj.no.585*u*, from a box in the Annexe, is also inscribed with his name.¹² The status of neither is certain: the scarab may well be extraneous, and the persea fruit, however it came to be there, can scarcely have been an 'heirloom'. Moreover, of the two following kings of the dynasty, Amenophis II and — more importantly — Tuthmosis IV, there are no objects of any kind.¹³

Two more of the calcite vessels piled into the Annexe have inscriptions relating to Amenophis III. One, Obj.no.588, has his prenomen and nomen together with Tiye's cartouche, but with the nomen then altered so as to duplicate the prenomen, while on the other, Obj.no.483, the two cartouches, both of which show the prenomen, are clearly intact and original.¹⁴ The replacement of Amenophis by Nebma'rē' points to the reign of Akhenaten, and it is probable, therefore, that the two vessels, transferred at some stage from a storehouse at el-'Amarna, were used in the burial simply as storage jars.¹⁵ The same will apply to a wine-jar, Obj.no.563, docketed in a year 31 which can only be that of Amenophis III,¹⁶ as well as a pottery fragment, alleged to have borne his name, which came from the debris outside the entrance.¹⁷ A model adze, Obj.no.44*p*, with the prenomen of Amenophis III and the cartouche of Tiye¹⁸ was found in a box in the Antechamber, and two other items may also have come from the tomb: an ivory palette¹⁹ and a blue faience sphinx,²⁰ both with the prenomen Nebma'rē'. The adze, whatever its origin, is of doubtful significance and may even, indeed, be intrusive — spilled into the tomb with rubble from out of the passage and later picked up from the floor.²¹ The palette and sphinx, however, are of intrinsic value and likely to have been heirlooms — the only mementoes in fact of Tut'ankhamūn's grandfather, since it is virtually certain that the gold *khepru*-figure, Obj.no.320*c*, once thought to be Amenophis III,²² is actually Tut'ankhamūn himself.²³

What is quite clearly a keepsake, cached with the *khepru*-figure and found in the Treasury,²⁴ is the miniature coffin enclosing another inscribed for queen

Tiye and containing a lock of her hair, Obj.nos.320*b,d,e*,²⁵ which one would imagine was given to Tut'ankhamūn when he was little more than a baby. No other object is solely associated with Tiye, although her cartouche appears both in conjunction with Amenophis III (Obj.nos.588 and 44*p* above) and on a pair of clappers that will have belonged to Meritaten (Obj.no.620(13) below).

Also of this generation, perhaps, is a whip-stock inscribed for 'the king's son, the troop commander, Tuthmosis', found in the Treasury, Obj.no.333 (part),²⁶ among the dismantled components of two of the chariots, and probably placed in the tomb together with them, rather than for its own sake. As noted elsewhere,²⁷ this is unlikely to be the same priestly Tuthmosis who was an elder brother of Amenophis IV, but rather an otherwise shadowy son of Tuthmosis IV.²⁸

The pair of clappers, Obj.no.620(13), on which an extended cartouche contains the name of queen Tiye, as *hmt nsw wrt*, followed by that of the king's daughter Meritaten,²⁹ came from among the debris strewn on the floor of the Annexe. Like the ivory palette of Meritaten, Obj.no.262,³⁰ found on the Anubis pylon-shrine in the Treasury, they belong to the years of her adolescence and may have been given to Tut'ankhamūn as a children's present — along with a similar ivory palette of Meketaten that undoubtedly came from the tomb.³¹ Meritaten appears, as *hmt nsw wrt*, on two other objects, inscribed for Nefernefruaten (Obj.nos.1*k* and 79+574 below) and also perhaps on a number of somewhat ambiguous sequins (Obj.no.46*gg* below).

The palettes of Meritaten and Meketaten are, as it happens, the only two objects to bear the cartouche of Nefertiti. Her name, in identical form,³² is appended as that of their mother but does not occur elsewhere in the tomb, either beside the cartouches of Akhenaten or in its own right. Nor are there any objects associated with Kiya, or Baketaten, or 'Ankhesenpaaten as princess,³³ or the remaining daughters of the Amarna household — though certain pieces of jewellery could have belonged to a queen.³⁴ The hieroglyphs on the inlaid lid of a little casket, Obj.no.54*hh*,³⁵ tossed into a box in the Antechamber, are usually seen as the name of the fifth of the princesses, Nefernefrurē; but the writing would be exceptional, the determinative is doubtful, there is no title 'king's daughter', and the accompanying figure, in *khepru* form, is apparently male, so that, in all, as suggested elsewhere, the reference is probably to the king himself as a youthful hypostasis of the sun-god.³⁶

Objects connected with Akhenaten³⁷ fall into three main categories: those that retain his name, those with inscriptions that clearly relate to him, and a much larger number that seem to have been usurped and may perhaps be assigned to him.

Apart from the text on a strip from the lid of a box (Obj.no.1*k* below) which, it would seem, belonged rather to Nefernefruaten, the name of Akhenaten occurs on a fan-stock, a bracelet, perhaps on a sealing, and on two pieces of linen — together with, arguably, an erased inscription.³⁸ The fan-stock, Obj.no.596*a*,³⁹ which has the later titulary of the Aten and the cartouches of Akhenaten, was found in the Annexe, and so was the faience bracelet, Obj.no.620(40),⁴⁰ which has the king's cartouches on gilded stucco and is almost identical otherwise with a pair inscribed for Nefernefruaten (Obj.nos.620(41) and 620(42) below). A frag-

mentary sealing, 'R', found on the floor of the Antechamber, may also be read as a cryptogram for Neferkheprurē^c, although this is not the only construction possible;⁴¹ but, if it does refer to Akhenaten, the sealing would point to an object associated specifically with him, conceivably as a memento. The fan and the bracelet, however, are not of this nature, and may well have been brought from a palace store merely to pad out the tomb equipment.

Four pieces of linen, employed as wrapping material, are also quite clearly attributable to Akhenaten, though two are without his name. One, Obj.no.261a, dates to year 7 and has his prenomen,⁴² one, Obj.no.281a, dates to year 3 and has the prenomen together with part of the earlier titulary of the Aten without cartouches, one, Obj.no.291a, has a date in year 3 or 4⁴³ and the earlier titulary in cartouches, but no prenomen, and one, Obj.no.300a, without either date or prenomen, shows what is clearly a shortened form of the earlier titulary, not in a cartouche. The linen may have been used because it was there to hand, as was doubtless the case with the linen of Ma'karē^c in the tomb of Maiherperi,⁴⁴ but there is the possibility too that the objects concerned were previously wrapped in it, and this would have implications for the assemblage of gilded statuettes.⁴⁵

One further item belongs to the earlier part of the reign of Akhenaten and, given its regal character, was presumably made for him. This is the beaded 'skull-cap', Obj.no.256tttt, once on the head of the mummy,⁴⁶ in which were inserted cartouches containing a variant form of the earlier titulary of the Aten, with an indistinct sign, apparently *3ht* without the disc, replacing the final *itn*.⁴⁷ Assuming that this was a funerary object — where indeed the replacement of *itn* would be entirely apposite — it is sufficient to show that some pieces at least of tomb equipment intended originally for Akhenaten were later pressed into use for the obsequies of Tut'ankhamūn.

A calcite vessel, Obj.no.405, with an erased inscription consisting essentially of two pairs of cartouches, was taken by Carter as possible evidence for the supposed co-regency between Amenophis III and Akhenaten.⁴⁸ The left-hand cartouche, the first of the four, has recently been interpreted as Nebma'rē^c,⁴⁹ but the traces are hard to reconcile with such a construction and seem to coincide better with Neferkheprurē^c-Wa'enrē^c,⁵⁰ while what remains of the second is not inconsistent with Akhenaten. In this case, the other cartouches were probably those of 'Ankhkheprurē^c : Nefernefruaten, although it is not now possible to support the reading — or to suggest an alternative. A similar panel has been more completely erased on another vessel, Obj.no.448,⁵¹ and there is a third, Obj.no.480, which may possibly also have had one.⁵² All three were found in the Annexe,⁵³ along with others, and are, it appears, the only objects of any kind on which an inscription has been removed without being replaced at all. The question is then by whom the names were erased, and whether it happened before the vessels were taken for use in the tomb, in which case the names are irrelevant in this particular context.

The largest number of objects directly attributable to a previous ruler are those with some form of the name of 'Ankhkheprurē^c : Nefernefruaten, either unaltered or certainly legible under the names of Tut'ankhamūn. The majority are of the type 'Ankhkheprurē^c mry X : Nefernefruaten mry Y, where X and

Y are component elements of the cartouches of Akhenaten — who thereby is identified as a (solar) deity.⁵⁴ The three variants known are as follows, and it is *a priori* unlikely that there were others apart from these:⁵⁵

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>a</i> ‘Ankhkheprurē’ <i>mry</i> Neferkheprurē’ | : Nefernefruat <i>mry</i> Wa’enrē’ |
| <i>b</i> ‘Ankhkheprurē’ <i>mry</i> Neferkheprurē’ | : Nefernefruat <i>mry</i> Akhenaten |
| <i>c</i> ‘Ankhkheprurē’ <i>mry</i> Wa’enrē’ | : Nefernefruat <i>mry</i> Akhenaten |

Nowhere is there any trace of the nomen Smenkhkarē’ *dsr hprw*, although, in two instances the prenomen appears at ‘Ankhkheprurē’ without epithet, which elsewhere is coupled exclusively with the Smenkhkarē’ form of nomen (and never with one of the variants of Nefernefruat). Of these, one is a mark stitched into a fringed linen shawl, Obj.no.101s, from a box in the Antechamber, and the other the first of a pair of cartouches stamped onto a group of identical sequins (Obj.no.46gg below).

Part of the lid of a box, Obj.no.1k, from the debris filling the staircase, has the cartouches of Akhenaten and Nefernefruat (in variant *a*) as kings, together with Meritaten as *hmt nsw wrt*,⁵⁶ while on the knobs the cartouches are those of Nefernefruat (also in variant *a*) for whom it is likely then that the box was intended.⁵⁷ The lid of a box in the Antechamber, Obj.no.79+574,⁵⁸ altered for Tut’ankhamūn, originally had, on a similar strip, the cartouches of Nefernefruat (in the same variant *a*) together with that of Meritaten as *hmt nsw wrt*, and on the knobs the cartouches of Nefernefruat (again in variant *a*).⁵⁹ Two blue faience bracelets, Obj.nos.620(41) and 620(42), found in the Annexe together with that of Akhenaten (Obj.no.620(40) above), have parallel pairs of cartouches of Nefernefruat (in variant *b*),⁶⁰ and again the prenomen ‘Ankhkheprurē’ *mry* Neferkheprurē’ (of variants *a* and *b*) can be seen beneath Tut’ankhamūn’s prenomen in two of the four cartouches on an elaborate composite bow, Obj.no.48h, the ‘bow of honour’, so-called.⁶¹ A pectoral with the figure of Nut, Obj.no.261p(1),⁶² one of a group from the Treasury found wrapped in a single piece of linen,⁶³ had at an earlier stage the cartouches of Nefernefruat (in variant *c*), still in part visible under the alterations for Tut’ankhamūn,⁶⁴ and this was presumably also the form on the four canopic coffins, Obj.no.266g,⁶⁵ though the traces are now inadequate to determine the nomen in full.⁶⁶ The prenomen alone, in both its variants (*a-b* and *c*) occurs on a number of elements from trappings attached to the mummy, Obj.nos.256a and 256b(4).⁶⁷

As in the case of the objects retaining the names of Akhenaten, those with the names of Nefernefruat intact (the parts of a box and the bracelets) were probably taken from store for the burial, and this could also apply to the parallel box with the cartouches altered, although — like the composite bow (cf. below, n.82) — it may have seen actual use before being placed in the tomb. Of greater significance are the three funerary items (the pectoral, the canopic coffins, and the surviving bits from the mummy trappings) which show that equipment had been prepared for the tomb of ‘Ankhkheprurē’ : Nefernefruat, but was never so used and was there to be taken, and altered for Tut’ankhamūn. The miniature coffins are also significant in that the workmanship and the facial features suggest

that they may have been made en suite with the second coffin, Obj.no.254,⁶⁸ which otherwise cannot be shown to have been usurped, whatever the doubts concerning it. Indeed, the canopic coffins themselves were so skilfully altered externally that the single inlaid cartouche on the front of each one might not be suspected,⁶⁹ except for the very clear evidence of usurpation inside, where the hieroglyphs are engraved.

The two remaining instances of the name of Nefernefruatē occur on a number of golden sequins of two distinct types — one with the two cartouches of Nefernefruatē in a unique and important variant, the other with ‘Ankhkheprurē’ and what is either a writing of Meritaten or an additional variant nomen. The former type is known only from three examples, presumed to have come from the tomb, though none is recorded by Carter. Two from the same die, and thus with identical hieroglyphs, are in Kansas City,⁷⁰ and one, from a different die, or possibly worked by hand, is in Edinburgh.⁷¹ The names are ‘Ankhkheprurē’ *mry* Aten : Nefernefruatē the Ruler (*ḥꜥ3*), which logically would be a later development than the three X : Y variants. On the pair in Kansas, the sun-disk of *ltn* is out of place and the *l* has been turned to face inwards, but this is not so on the Edinburgh sequin, where *ltn* is written correctly, though followed by only three *nfr*-signs.⁷² Much has been made of the turned *l*, but, in that it does not occur on the third example, it is in all probability no more than a means of adjusting the ill-arranged signs to fit the curve of the cartouche, as on the recently published scarab of Nefertiti from Ulu Burun.⁷³ One thing it is certainly not: an instance of the reversal of Aten, supposed to occur in the longer cartouche of Nefertiti, but which, in the form alleged,⁷⁴ is a non-existent phenomenon. This is quite clear from the later boundary stelae,⁷⁵ as well as from other inscriptions of major importance in which the cartouche appears horizontally,⁷⁶ all of which show that what is in fact reversed is the whole of the element *nfr-nfrw-ltn*, turned so that it faces *nfrt-ll.tl*, with meaningful force⁷⁷ that would make no sense in the various forms of the nomen of Nefernefruatē (where, consequently, it does not appear).

Of the other gold sequin, Obj.no.46gg, there are no fewer than forty-seven examples, all from the same die and thus identical, stitched to a small linen garment found lying loose in the Antechamber. On these, the prenomen is simply ‘Ankhkheprurē’, without epithet (which otherwise goes with the *Smenkhkarē* form of nomen), while the second cartouche reads Meryaten, hitherto taken as being the name of the queen, although there is no *t* written and the determinative is ambiguous.⁷⁸ In view of the writing, and of the absence of titles above the cartouches, it is just possible that this is a further variant of the king’s name, to be read as ‘Ankhkheprurē’ : Meryaten, the epithet *mry* Aten, as found on the other sequins,⁷⁹ having become the nomen.⁸⁰ If so, the overall pattern would then be like this — without prejudice to the identity of the person or persons concerned:⁸¹

- | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1a | ‘Ankhkheprurē’ <i>mry</i> Neferkheprurē | : Nefernefruatē <i>mry</i> Wa‘enrē |
| 1b | ‘Ankhkheprurē’ <i>mry</i> Neferkheprurē | : Nefernefruatē <i>mry</i> Akhenaten |
| 1c | ‘Ankhkheprurē’ <i>mry</i> Wa‘enrē | : Nefernefruatē <i>mry</i> Akhenaten |
| 2 | ‘Ankhkheprurē’ <i>mry</i> Aten | : Nefernefruatē the Ruler |

3	‘Ankhkheprurē’	:	Meryaten
4	‘Ankhkheprurē’	:	Smenkhkarē’ <i>dsr hprw</i>

At least one of the objects usurped for Tut‘ankhamūn from Nefernefruten, the elaborate composite bow (Obj.no.48*h* above), shows signs of a previous alteration. Two of the four prenomens, those on the grip of the bow, were changed by partly effacing the former hieroglyphs, and, in the case of the one where Nebkheprurē’ is reversed, the name it replaced, ‘Ankhkheprurē’ *mry* Neferkheprurē’ — again a prenomem, where *s3 r’* requires a nomen — is itself on a strip of bark or the like laid over another cartouche, of which there are traces visible.⁸² The bow is unlikely to have been handed down over a lengthy period, and it is most probable that the underlying cartouches were those of Akhenaten, or possibly Amenophis III, for whom also the matching bow-case, Obj.no.335, will have been made originally.⁸³

That, in fact, they were those of Akhenaten is virtually certain, in view of the presence elsewhere on the bow of the formula *hk3 nfr*, instead of the usual *ntr nfr*.⁸⁴ This title appears to be characteristic of Akhenaten, and when followed by *h’ m hdt* — as on one of the strips from the coffin discovered in Tomb 55 — it is all but conclusive.⁸⁵ In the tomb, it occurs again on the box from the Antechamber (Obj.no.79+574 above) usurped for Tut‘ankhamūn from Nefernefruten,⁸⁶ and also on several other objects, including three sticks, Obj.nos.48*q*, 227*b* and 227*c*, and a fan-stock, Obj.no.245. One of the ticks, Obj.no.227*b*, from the Treasury, is of similar workmanship to the bow, and the inscriptions incorporate phrases appropriate to Akhenaten.⁸⁷ The same is the case with the ceremonial faldstool, Obj.no.351,⁸⁸ which also has certain anomalies in its construction that strongly suggest adaptation,⁸⁹ and likewise with two of the shrines that enclosed the sarcophagus. That the two shrines, Obj.nos.237 and 238, the second and third of the four surviving,⁹⁰ were altered for Tut‘ankhamūn may be seen from a careful scrutiny of the cartouches, the centres of many of which are lighter in colour,⁹¹ or overlap slightly onto the oval border,⁹² or have badly arranged or summary hieroglyphs,⁹³ while phrases in the inscriptions, including both *hk3 nfr* and *h’ m hdt*,⁹⁴ together with other details,⁹⁵ would point to their having been made for Akhenaten, rather than ‘Smenkhkarē’, as was assumed by Engelbach.⁹⁶

Although in the case of the pectoral clearly usurped from Nefernefruten (Obj.no.261*p*(1) above) there are no obvious signs of a previous alteration, this is by no means impossible, in that one of the other five wrapped with it was probably made for Akhenaten. This is a well-known piece, Obj.no.261*p*(3), with Nut as a vulture and two cartouches, prefaced by *hk3 nfr nb t3wy : s3 r’*.⁹⁷ The prenomem and nomen, however, are wrongly transposed,⁹⁸ and each is reversed within its cartouche, with a further mistake in the epithet at the end of the nomen.⁹⁹ The inference is that the names were originally those of a king with a longer prenomem and shorter nomen than Tut‘ankhamūn, which would indeed be consistent with Akhenaten, as would the form of the titulary. The names upon other pectorals too are anomalous. One, Obj.no.261*j*,¹⁰⁰ has the prenomem alone, reversed within the cartouche — as on a pectoral from the Serapeum¹⁰¹ — to which the epithet *tlt r’* may thus have been added in order to fill out the space

of what had again been a longer prenomen originally. Another, Obj.no.261i,¹⁰² has simple engraved cartouches where one would expect them inlaid, with, in effect, the prenomen and nomen transposed, in as much as the latter is given priority in the arrangement.¹⁰³ Yet another, of greater elaboration, with straps and a counterpoise, Obj.no.267q+269i-j,¹⁰⁴ has on the straps ill-suited and coarsely engraved cartouches, where the rest of the elements are inlaid. And there are others besides with oddities in their inscriptions or iconography, but which cannot be faulted technically.¹⁰⁵

The various objects that may have been made initially for Akhenaten are either for ordinary use or, like the shrines and the pectorals, exclusively funerary. This would confirm the inference drawn from the skull-cap: that items prepared for the tomb of Akhenaten had not in the end been buried with him and were then somewhere to hand, to be taken over for Tut'ankhamūn.

As has been noted with both the canopic coffins and some of the pectorals, the replacement of hieroglyphs within a cartouche — or of parts of inscriptions that are inlaid or engraved — may on the surface be virtually undetectable, and the number of usurpations is certainly greater than can at present be demonstrated. Inconsistencies, either in workmanship or in details of iconography, or in the phrasing of texts, may in this context be crucial — although not every anomaly will be an indication of previous ownership. The scene on the back of the throne, Obj.no.91, has various imperfections that point to repair or, more probably, alteration,¹⁰⁶ and the figures themselves, with the Aten above, suggest the Amarna period.¹⁰⁷ Doubts, too, have been voiced about some of the series of gilded statuettes, royal and divine,¹⁰⁸ the inscriptions on which would seem to have been perfunctory,¹⁰⁹ and the presence of duplicate *khepru*-figures, not even alike in appearance, Obj.nos.54ee, 54ff and 54vv,¹¹⁰ is also a matter for comment. There is nothing, however, to show that the added rectangular panel with deities on the bell of the silver trumpet, Obj.no.175,¹¹¹ did anything more than replace a segment of decoration, while the fact that a portable chest from the Antechamber, Obj.no.32,¹¹² has on the lid cartouches of 'Ankhesenamūn with separate centres inserted into the ovals may either betray re-working or represent a device to bridge inconvenient corner joints.¹¹³

In that the full extent of the usurpations may never be known, it is not easy to draw conclusions. It seems, however, that the majority of the detectable items either were kingly possessions adapted for further use or taken from store specifically for the tomb (with or without alteration of any cartouches), or were quite clearly pieces of tomb equipment intended for other royalty, but for some reason discarded.¹¹⁴ Perhaps surprisingly, there are very few obvious 'heirlooms', and only the absence of any overt memento of Tut'ankhamūn's own mother is of particular note.¹¹⁵ Of the funerary items, some were prepared for Akhenaten, and these were no doubt abandoned when no longer consonant with his developed ideas of the after-life. Others were clearly intended, originally or at one remove, for Nefernefruatēn, and these too were not in fact used, suggesting that he/she was never, as such, accorded a kingly burial, but was interred eventually under another name.

Notes

- * I am greatly indebted to Nicholas Reeves for his generous assistance in checking and copying items of bibliography, without which it would not have been possible to put together these notes.
- 1 For a preliminary statement see J. R. Harris, 'Nefernefruaten', *GM* 4 (1973), 15–17. The hieroglyphic inscriptions are now collected in H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford, 1989), where they are ordered according to Carter's Obj.nos., with all the relevant sealings on p. 226. The Obj.nos. themselves are thus an adequate form of reference for individual items, and where the volume is cited specifically it is abbreviated as *Corpus*. Some of the objects relating to Nefernefruaten were briefly noted initially in W. McLeod, *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun* (Tut'ankhamun's Tomb Series 3) (Oxford, 1970), 11 n. 1 and cf. pl. 20, with further discussion in J. R. Harris, 'Nefernefruaten Regnans', *AcOr* 36 (1974), 11–21.
- 2 Concerning the state of the tomb see H. Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen*, I–III (London, 1923–33), *passim* (cited hereafter as Carter and Mace), and more specifically C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings* (London–New York, 1990), 61–9 — and n.b. 67–8 *re* the passage. The fact that a gilded mask from one of the mummified foetuses was found in the cache with the refuse embalming material — see C. N. Reeves, 'On the Miniature Mask from the Tut'ankhamun Embalming Cache', *BSEG* 8 (1983), 81–3 — must mean that the earlier robbers had penetrated the Treasury (cf. below, n. 24).
- 3 Fifteen chief vintners in all appear on the dockets: see J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun* (Tut'ankhamun's Tomb Series 2) (Oxford, 1965), Index (p. 20).
- 4 The form of the name (as against Minnakhte) is clear from the writing on Obj.no.318c.
- 5 For the 'label' see Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 4, 24, pl. 5 (26). It consists of the vizier's title and name and cannot have been meant as a dedication — *pace* the comment *ad loc.*: 'perhaps the person who sent the wine as a gift to the deceased king.' Unless the jar had at some stage been earmarked for Pentu himself, the 'label' may be a graffito, like that of the scribe Tuthmosis (below, nn. 7–9).
- 6 Maya: Obj.nos.318b (a shabti figure) and 331a (the well-known effigy of the dead king on his funeral bier). Nakhtmin: Obj.nos.318a, 318c, 330i, 330j and 330k (five shabti figures). Cf. A. R. Schulman, 'The Berlin "Trauerrelief"' (No. 12411) and Some Officials of Tut'ankhamun and Ay', *JARCE* 4 (1965), 61, 68 — omitting one of the Nakhtmin shabti figures, Obj.no.318c.
- 7 Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 7, 25, pl. 7 (45); and cf. Schulman, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 61 n. 59.
- 8 T. M. Davis, H. Carter and P. E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* (London, 1904), 34; *Urk.*IV.2170.15–2171.6 (specifically 2171.5–6): the phrase *whm kṛst* implies the formal renewal of an Egyptian burial. For other items relating to this Tuthmosis see R. M. Hall, 'The Steward of Thebes, Dhutymose', *The Egyptian Bulletin* no. 16 (March 1986), 4–7.
- 9 The graffito is likely to date from the time of the first inspection and tidying-up of the tomb, and Tuthmosis's ostensibly unimportant position may also suggest a point at which he had not yet acquired the status he had under Haremhab. The discrepancy in his titles is not in itself conclusive, however: Nakhtmin, for example, permutes his on four of the five shabti figures he gave for the burial.
- 10 This sealing was found on Obj.no.304 (a shrine-like chest in the Treasury) and apparently also on Obj.no.193 (a pair of miniature shrines, on a single base, found

- in the Burial Chamber — but possibly from the Treasury). The impressions were damaged and indistinct, and Carter's composite drawing, restoring the lower sign(s) in a way that would point to Haremhab, can scarcely be justified; cf. R. Krauss, 'Zum archäologischen Befund im thebanischen Königsgrab Nr.62', *MDOG* 118 (1986), 170–1; Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 67. What stood at the bottom, below the tail of the crowned uraeus, was probably the *nbw* gold sign, as suggested by Carter's card for Obj.no.193.
- 11 J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, III (London, 1951), pl. 74 (8). For a vessel of Tuthmosis III — though interpreted as an heirloom — see G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna*, I (London, 1974), 95, pls. 55–6 (413).
 - 12 See L. Keimer, *Interpretation de quelques passages d'Horapollon* (ASAE Cahier 5) (Cairo, 1947), 38–9, fig. 35; and cf. R. Germer, *Die Pflanzenmaterialien aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (HAB 28) (Hildesheim, 1989), 53.
 - 13 Pace PM I.ii², 580, where Obj.no.410 is wrongly attributed to Tuthmosis IV.
 - 14 Pace the somewhat ambiguous statement in Carter and Mace, III, 146.
 - 15 For other vessels of Amenophis III see Martin, *Royal Tomb*, I, 88–9, pl. 53 (368–9) and G. T. Martin, 'Excavations at the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, 1977: Preliminary Report', *JEA* 64 (1978), 9 — from Haremhab's tomb at Saqqāra.
 - 16 For the docket see Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 3, 24, pl. 5 (25) and comment on p. 4. Dockets of year 28 and year 30 from el-'Amarna: Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III, pl. 91 (168) and H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, II (London, 1933), pl. 58 (47), provide an obvious parallel. The docket of year 10 on Obj.no.500: Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 3, 24, pl. 5 (24) is unlikely to represent Amenophis III, but might belong to Akhenaten — although the suggestion that it is the highest known date of Tut'ankhamūn remains the most plausible; cf. J. Černý, 'Three Regnal Dates of the Eighteenth Dynasty', *JEA* 50 (1964), 39.
 - 17 The text of Carter and Mace, I, 93, refers to 'a fragment with the name of Amen.hetep III', which T. Hoving, *Tut'ankhamūn: The Untold Story* (New York–London, 1978/79), 84, repeats as 'a fragment of pottery with the name of Amenhotep III'. This may have been one of the 'fragments of potsherds bearing hieratic legends', carded — with no more detail — as Obj.no.1f.
 - 18 According to Carter's card (written in this case by Mace) the same cartouches occur on the blade and on the end of the handle. Only one pair is recorded in *Corpus*.
 - 19 M.M.A. 26.7.1294: see W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (New York, 1959), 255–6, fig. 154.
 - 20 M.M.A. 1972.125: see Hoving, note in *BMMA* 31 (1975), 121 and frontispiece; C. Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15) (Berlin, 1975), pl. 53; P. F. Dorman *et al.*, *L'Égypte et le Proche-Orient* (Paris, 1987), pl. 37. A blue faience base with the name of Amenophis III is alleged to belong to a painted ivory figurine of a servant-girl, now Brooklyn Mus. 40.126.2, but the latter is pierced for suspension, and there is nothing to show that the two were related anciently, or that the base was connected in any way with the tomb.
 - 21 As noted by Mace, the model is of the foundation-deposit type, and the presumption is, therefore, that it relates to a project initiated by Amenophis III — perhaps his tomb in the Western Valley, or one even nearer to hand.
 - 22 E.g., Carter and Mace, III, 87, pl. 25(C); PM I.ii², 582; C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London, 1971), 230.
 - 23 So, tacitly, E. Feucht, 'Verjüngung und Wiedergeburt', *SAK* 11 (1984), 406. The texts on Obj.nos.320 and 320a, the two model coffins containing the figure — the inner one royal in form — would tend to confirm the identification, since they refer exclusively to Tut'ankhamūn; cf. I. E. S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun: His Tomb and Its Treasures* (New York–London, 1976), 182.

- 24 It is somewhat unlikely that the position in which the nested coffins were found (cf. M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series 8) (Oxford, 1985), pl. 53 right) is where they were placed originally, nor can they have come from one of the three adjacent boxes, all of which had been rifled, since they would not have fitted. Obj.no.315 had nothing but packing left in it, Obj.no.316 contained only some model implements, and Obj.no.317, with its lid still off, had been robbed of a gilded mask belonging to one of the mummified foetuses whose coffins it held: cf. Reeves, *BSEG* 8 (1983), 81–3.
- 25 Carter and Mace, III, pl. 25; A. Rowe, 'Inscriptions on the Model Coffin containing the Lock of Hair of Queen Tyi', *ASAE* 40 (1941), 623–7, pl. 67.
- 26 Littauer and Crouwel, *Chariots*, 61 (I4) and cf. pl. 65(B).
- 27 Harris, in Littauer and Crouwel, *Chariots*, 61 n. 3.
- 28 None of the possible references that have from time to time been cited can in fact be substantiated; cf. P. J. Frandsen, 'Heqareshu and the Family of Tuthmosis IV', *AcOr* 37 (1976), 5–10. That the whip-stock belonged to Tuthmosis IV himself as a prince is extremely unlikely, if only because of the time-span.
- 29 H. Hickmann, *Les Instruments de musique* (Cat.gen.) (Cairo, 1949), 26, pl. 12(b); L. Manniche, *Musical Instruments from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series 6) (Oxford, 1976), 3–4, pl. 1; and cf. Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 19–20, n. 34.
- 30 Carter and Mace, III, 45, pl. 22(A); K. El Mallakh and A. C. Brackman, *The Gold of Tut'ankhamūn* (New York, 1978), pl. 152; and, for its position when found, Edwards, *Tut'ankhamūn*, pl. on 153. One would suppose that originally it had been packed with the other writing equipment, though not in the box in which that was discovered eventually.
- 31 M.M.A. 26.7.1295: see Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 296, fig. 183.
- 32 The transcription in *Corpus*, 97, is incorrect: not only is one of the *nfr*-signs missing, but *nfr-nfrw* is, in effect, misplaced (cf. below, nn. 75–6).
- 33 *Pace* PM I.ii², 581, where the attribution of Obj.no.25 to 'Ankhesenamūn is rather misleading.
- 34 E.g., two pairs of ear-studs with a double uraeus motif, Obj.nos. 269a (5–6): Carter and Mace, III, pl. 18 left (top and middle); Aldred, *Jewels*, pls. 121 (centre), 122 (left and right). The latter are very similar to the single ear-stud visible on the yew-wood head of a queen in Berlin, Inv.Nr.21834. For the double uraeus see J. R. Harris, 'Akhenaten or Nefertiti?', *AcOr* 38 (1977), 8 n. 25. A miniature calcite vessel, now M.M.A. 40.2.4 (see Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 314–15, fig. 199), may once have belonged to a princess, but the figure applied as ornament is rather that of a serving-girl.
- 35 For what is perhaps the best reproduction in colour see J. Settgast *et al.*, *Nofretete Echnaton* (Munich, 1976), no. 64.
- 36 Cf. Harris, catalogue entry no. 64 in *Akhnaton og Nefertiti = Louisiana Revy* 17 årg. nr.1 (okt.1976), 38. In the name of the princess, as it occurs elsewhere, the element *r'* comes first and consists of the sun-disc only. In this case the writing of *r'* in full, including the vertical stroke, suggests the name of the god, and the seated determinative may equally well be interpreted as having the head of a falcon. For the *khepru*-figure itself cf., in particular, W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1948), pl. 17 (271). The 'kilt' is that of a male — a princess would be either naked or more fully draped — and the form of the side-lock is not inconsistent with this.
- 37 There is nowhere a trace of the nomen as Amenophis.
- 38 It is conceivable that an interesting faience object, perhaps the knob of a whip-stock, may also have come from the tomb. This has the nomen of Akhenaten and the long

- name of Nefertiti: see J.R. Harris, 'Et nyt bevis på kongeparrets ligestilling i Amarna-tiden', *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 33 årg. (1976), 78–84, and 'A fine piece of Egyptian Faience', *The Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977), 340–3. Note too a faience vessel of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, now M.M.A. 22.9.2.
- 39 Carter and Mace, III, 133, pl. 43(A).
- 40 The reference in PM, I.ii², 583, to Obj.no.620(44) is mistaken.
- 41 The reading assumes that the seated figure is *hprw* and that *nfr* belongs to the name, with *m3't* as part of an epithet: cf. three very similar sealings from el-'Amarna, Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III, pl. 100 (27–29); Feucht, *SAK* 11 (1984), 407. Nebkheprurē would be possible if what is missing included a *nb*-sign, although on the basis of the Amarna examples, especially (27), *3fr-hprw-r' nb m't* would still have better support than *nb-hprw-r' nfr m3't*. Nebma'rē + epithet, as implied by Hayes, 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III', *JNES* 10 (1951), 158 n. 280 (with reference to MMA negs. TAA 1373–5) is altogether unlikely.
- 42 See C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Vie et mort d'un pharaon: Toutankhamon* (Paris, 1963), 221, fig. 132. *Pace* the uncertainty in the index to *Corpus*, 229, the prenomen can only be that of Akhenaten, in view of the unequivocal date.
- 43 The year was transcribed as 3 by Newberry and (later) as 4 by Gardiner. *Corpus*, 133, prefers 3.
- 44 Cf. B. Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße im alten Ägypten* (MÄS 15) (Berlin, 1968), 51.
- 45 This could scarcely be so in the case of the piece (261a) that draped the Anubis figure, although it is possible that its position, as found, concealing the palette(s) between the paws, was secondary; cf. the plates in Edwards, *Tut'ankhamūn*, 152–3.
- 46 Carter and Mace, II, pl. 32; F. F. Leek, *The Human Remains from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series 5) (Oxford, 1972), pl. 11. The skull-cap is now no longer in place; cf. *JEA* 57 (1971), pl. 29.
- 47 The caption to Carter's plate refers mistakenly to the later form; and cf. my note to the plate in Leek (ibid. 28). On the card for the object, Carter hand-copied an *3ht*-sign, but his facsimile drawing on an accompanying slip has what amounts to *dw*, with a note that in each case the disc is not shown. Could this in fact be a reference to the *dw wbn n 3ht-tn* — the site of the royal tomb?
- 48 Carter and Mace, III, 146. The cartouches are not identified on the card for the vessel, but the accompanying sketch of the traces suggests that the first of the four was perhaps interpreted as *nb-m3't-r'*.
- 49 *Corpus*, 185 — perhaps on the strength of Carter's sketch, though without any comment.
- 50 See Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 12 n. 6, fig. 1c — based on the traces visible on Burton's original photographs (MMA neg. TAA 910 and GI neg. 1271).
- 51 Carter's card notes 'on side of bowl faint traces of there once having been an inscription, but too completely erased to detect any hieroglyphs'. *Pace* my comment in *AcOr* 36 (1974), 12 n. 6, the vessel cannot be described as a 'pair' to Obj.no.405.
- 52 The card refers to 'the slightest trace of an erased inscription on shoulder of bowl'.
- 53 The lid belonging to Obj.no.405 was found in the Antechamber, and carded as Obj.no.36b.
- 54 Cf. Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 14 and n. 13.
- 55 As suggested elsewhere, Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 14 n. 12, it would have been inappropriate to reverse the established order of the three elements from the cartouches of Akhenaten — and this allows no other combinations. The anomalous variant listed by R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (HÄB 7) (Hildesheim, 1978), 88 (h), does not in fact exist (cf. below, nn. 75, 81).
- 56 Cf. Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 11, fig. 1a.
- 57 Cf. Carter and Mace, III, 17–18; Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 11 n. 4. This may to a

- certain degree undermine my suggestion, *op. cit.*, 15 and n. 16, that in this instance the king to whom Meritaten was *hmt nsw wrt* could equally well have been Akhenaten — although on this point in principle cf. Harris, *GM* 4 (1973), 16.
- 58 The lid itself was found separately on the floor of the Annexe, and the box, which had obviously been disturbed, may also have been in the Annexe originally.
- 59 Cf. Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 15, fig. 2a, and, for an excellent colour plate, El Mallakh and Brackman, *Gold*, pl. 136. The usurpation was noted initially on the knob of the box by Mace, and later in full by Carter in carding the missing lid: cf. Harris, *op. cit.*, 15 n. 17.
- 60 For a preliminary note of the names, which were clearly of similar form, cf. McLeod, *Composite Bows*, 11 n. 1 with pl. 20 (h) and p. 40. The version of 620(42) in *Corpus* is in several respects inaccurate: the orientation of the prenomen is wrongly indicated (cf. McLeod, *op. cit.* 40) and what is obviously a distorted \odot (cf. J. Samson, 'Royal Inscriptions from Amarna', *CdE* 48 (1973), 250) is represented as \odot , while in the nomen the final group is not 𓏏 but 𓏏 . The two bracelets are listed incorrectly in Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, 88 (h), and 620(41) is omitted in PM, I.ii², 583.
- 61 McLeod, *Composite Bows*, 10–12, pls. 17, 20.
- 62 K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture. Sculpture. Painting*, 4th edn. (London–New York, 1968), pl. 42 bottom; M. Vilímková and D. Darbois, *Egyptian Jewellery* (London–New York, 1969), pl. 43; Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 97.
- 63 These were Obj.nos.261*m*, *n*, *o* and *p*(1–3). They may have been taken, wrapped as they were, from a box in the Treasury (possibly Obj.no.267) and then have been left on the pylon-shrine of Anubis, and so tidied-up into it.
- 64 Carter, who carded the object, thought the cartouches were formerly 'sketched' as those of Akhenaten, and this has twice been repeated by Aldred, *Jewels*, 219 and in *CAH*, II, 2, 70 n. 5, where he refers mistakenly to 'Gardiner's note'. The essential traces are clear, however, on Burton's original photograph (MMA neg. TAA 576 = GI neg. 1132) and, taken together, suffice to show that the name was 'Ankhkheprurē' *mry* Wa'enrē : Nefernefruaten *mry* Akhenaten: cf. Samson, *CdE* 48 (1973), 249. It is possible, nevertheless, that the pectoral was originally made for Akhenaten (cf. below, n. 82).
- 65 Isis: Noblecourt, *Vie et mort*, pl. 34; A. Eggebrecht, *Das Alte Ägypten* (München, 1984), pl. on 315. Nephthys: Smithsonian Institution, *Tutankhamun Treasures* (Washington, 1961), pl. 2 and cover; D. P. Silverman, *Masterpieces of Tut'ankhamūn* (New York, 1978), pl. on 155 (reversed). Neith: P. Fox, *Tut'ankhamūn's Treasure* (London, 1951), pl. 46; El Mallakh and Brackman, *Gold*, pl. 63. Selqet: A Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Bollingen Series 40.2) (New York, 1955), pl. 9; Edwards, *Tut'ankhamūn*, pl. on 164–5. The usurpation was first remarked by R. Engelbach, 'Material for a Revision of the History of the Heresy Period of the XVIIIth Dynasty', *ASAE* 40 (1940), 137–8 and later confirmed by H. W. Fairman, 'Once Again the so-called Coffin of Akhenaten', *JEA* 47 (1961), 39 n. 1 — *pace* the comments of G. Roeder, 'Thronfolger und König Smench-ka-Rê', *ZÄS* 83 (1958), 70–71. It has now been documented for each of the coffins in *Corpus*, 116–7.
- 66 Sufficient is visible overall to establish 'Ankhkheprurē' *mry* Wa'enrē : Nefernefruaten [...], which can only be variant *c*, with the nomen completed by *mry* Akhenaten. *Pace* the incorrect listing in Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, 88 (h), this is also the form on the stela in University College, U.C.410; cf. Martin, review, *JEA* 60 (1974), 268, fig. 1, and latterly J. P. Allen, 'Two Altered Inscriptions of the Late Amarna Period', *JARCE* 25 (1988), 118, fig. 1. Martin correctly copies what is presumably *h* behind *3h* in the fourth cartouche, which would imply that the similar sign in front is a sun-disc, standing for *īm*. If so, the initial *īm* need not in this case

- be read twice, as suggested by Allen, *op. cit.* 118 n. 10, although it quite clearly has to be on the bracelets (cf. n. 60 above) and on the pectoral (cf. n. 64 above).
- 67 Cf. Carter and Mace, II, 84–5, with pls. 26(A), 27(B); Engelbach, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 137. Of the seven examples noted in *Corpus*, five are of variant *a-b* and two of variant *c*.
- 68 E.g., *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* — A. Vigneau and E. Drioton, *Le Musée du Caire* (Éditions 'Tel', n.p., 1949), pls. 135–8; El Mallakh and Brackman, *Gold*, pls. 11, 14; Edwards, *Tutankhamun*, pl. on 126–7.
- 69 Although, in the case of the piece on exhibition in London in 1972, it seemed to me 'very obvious' (note made at the time) that the inlaid cartouche had been altered.
- 70 Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, nos. 67–21/5 and 67–21/6: cf. Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 16 n. 20, fig. 3. There is more to their history than is suggested by Hoving, *Tut'ankhamūn*, 356.
- 71 Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, no. 1959.451, of thin sheet gold with a reddish tinge, which is more pronounced on the reverse and within the hieroglyphs. I am grateful to Dr Helen Whitehouse for bringing the piece to my notice and for providing excellent photographs from the Museum.
- 72 There are discrepancies also in the prenomen, which seems to be missing not only the plural strokes of *hprw* (where there is ample room) but also the *t* and the *n* of *itn* (where there is very little).
- 73 See J. Weinstein, 'The Gold Scarab of Nefertiti from Ulu Burun', in G. F. Bass, C. Pulak, D. Collon, and J. Weinstein, 'The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign', *AJA* 93 (1989), 17–29. For other instances of the mistaken reversal of signs in the long form of the name of Nefertiti cf. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pl. 15 (82); Samson, *CdE* 48 (1973), 247, fig. 2, with comment on p. 248; J. Samson, *Amarna: City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (Warminster, 1978), 110, pl. 57(b). The anomalous writing of *nfrt-il.ti* is closely paralleled on the faience object referred to above, n. 38.
- 74 E.g., by J. A. Wilson, 'Akh-en-aton and Nefert-iti', *JNES* 32 (1973), 238; S. Tawfik, 'Aton Studies I: Aton before the Reign of Akhenaten', *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 86; Samson, 'Royal Names in Amarna History', *CdE* 51 (1976), 32; Samson, *Amarna*, 111.
- 75 Nine examples in all: see N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, V (London, 1908) and, more conveniently, M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 8) (Brussels, 1938), 122, lines 6–10 and 125, lines 13–16.
- 76 E.g., on architectural fragments: Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pls. 7, 10 (5); Sandman, *Texts*, 159, line 1; on architraves in the tombs of Panehesy and Tutu: Sandman, *Texts*, 23, line 12 and 73, line 3; on major fragments of sculpture: Kestner-Museum, Hannover, Inv.Nr.1935.200.137 — ? unpublished except on a Loseblatt; on a series of statue bases: Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III, 186–7; Sandman, *Texts*, 159, lines 11, 15; on a stela, CG 34174: P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, I (Cat.gen.) (Cairo, 1909), pl. 64 = Sandman, *Texts*, 163, line 12 – etc. When the cartouche is vertical, the arrangement is generally not apparent because of the symmetry of the group *nfrw*, but cf. a sealing from el-'Amarna: Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, III, pl. 81 (25).
- 77 The device is akin to the frequent reversal in Old Kingdom texts of *wḏ nsw (n)* and *dd(.f)*, and the contraposition elsewhere of *ntr* and *dw3* in *dw3 ntr* (e.g., *Urk*.IV, 1288.11). It is meant to confront the statement (however construed) *nfr nfrw itn* with *nfrt il.ti* as circumstantial, and to give visual emphasis to the overall meaning. Whether *nfr nfrw itn* is to be taken as '*itn* is *nfr nfrw*' or as '*the nfrw of the itn* is *nfr*', the sense is undoubtedly that the Aten's radiance/vital force is enhanced in as much as the radiant/(sexually) vital woman is come. A similar confrontation of the name

- Nefernefruat and an epithet such as *mry* Akhenaten would in this context be meaningless.
- 78 Cf. Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 16, fig. 2d. But in the tomb of Meryrē II at el-ʿAmarna: Davies, *Rock Tombs*, II (London, 1905), pl. 41; cf. Harris, op. cit. 15, fig. 2b, what is clearly the name of Meritaten, as *hmt nsw wrt*, has neither a *t* nor any determinative.
- 79 An unparalleled instance of *mry* Aten attached to the nomen Nefernefruat (which, if confirmed, would be evidence of an additional variant) is in fact a mistake: cf. Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar* (Berlin–Heidelberg, 1986), 71 (187). The two cartouches — an accurate copy of which I owe to Professor Geoffrey Martin — are actually juxtaposed and of similar size, with, on the left, the prenomen of Akhenaten and, on the right, the longer form of the name of Nefertiti. The element *nfrw ltn*, reversed as so often, faces to right, not left, and there are traces below of *nfr[t il.ti]* and of the female determinative.
- 80 Cf. Harris, *AcOr* 36 (1974), 16 n. 20.
- 81 Allen has now suggested the separation of Smenkhkarē from Nefernefruat (forthcoming, but cf. Allen, *JARCE* 25 (1988), 126; Weinstein, *AJA* 93 (1989), 28), and this should at least be tested out as a working hypothesis. Apart from the shared prenomen ʿAnkhkheprurē, there is in any case less to connect the two than to associate Nefernefruat with Nefertiti.
- 82 Cf. McLeod, *Composite Bows*, 11 n. 1, pl. 20 (a–d). Expecting a nomen, I failed at the time to realize that in the second cartouche (b) Nebkheprurē had also replaced — in reverse — the prenomen ʿAnkhkheprurē *mry* Neferkheprurē, traces of which, including the ʿnh-sign, are clearly visible in the existing photograph, and that the further traces discernible at the top edge of the patch must therefore belong to another and earlier cartouche.
- 83 W. McLeod, *Self Bows and Other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tutʿankhamūn* (Tutʿankhamūn’s Tomb Series 4) (Oxford, 1982), 26–38, pls. 6–16, 25–28 — in particular 29 nn. 3–5 and 38 n. 6.
- 84 On one of the tips: McLeod, *Composite Bows*, pl. 17, inscr. 4.3; and cf. 12 n. 1.
- 85 The occurrence of (*p3*) *hk3 nfr* as an appellative is by no means confined to Akhenaten, but its use with titular force as a doublet of *ntr nfr* (cf. Y. Y. Perepelkin, *Perevorot Amen-kotpa IV*, I (Moscow, 1967), sect. 4, 227–9) and in conjunction with epithets such as those noted below is otherwise paralleled only in contexts referring specifically to him, e.g., on a single shabti figure: Martin, *Royal Tomb*, I, pls. 16, 38 (152); in the tomb of Meryrē II: Davies, *Rock Tombs*, II, pls. 34, 35, cf. Perepelkin, op. cit., sect. 2, 285 f.; in that of Huya: Davies, *Rock Tombs*, III (London, 1905), pl. 19; and on a palimpsest fragment from Maru-Aten: T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, I (London, 1923), pl. 34 (1–2)—now in the Ashmolean Museum, 1922.141 (the reading is certain, as against *ntr nfr*). It may be worth noting that on another composite bow, Obj.no.48g(2), the epithets *h m hdt* and *3 hmhmt* occur with the title *ntr nfr*: McLeod, *Composite Bows*, pl. 16, inscr. 3.1, 3.2 (cf. below, n. 87).
- 86 The epithet *h m hdt* occurs in the same band of text as *hk3 nfr* but not immediately following it.
- 87 Carter and Mace, II, pl. 8(A) — part only. The two vertical columns of text begin *hk3 nfr h m hdt ir m3ʿt / hk3 nfr 3 hmhmt*, and end with the nomen (altered from Tutʿankhaten) followed by *dl ʿnh dt (r) (n)hh*, which is essentially characteristic of the Amarna period: cf. McLeod, *Self Bows*, 29 n. 3. The epithet *ʿnh m m3ʿt* occurs elsewhere on the stick.
- 88 On the back of the throne, *hk3 nfr* occurs in three of the seven vertical strips of text inlaid in the decoration, and five of them end with the formula *dl ʿnh (ml rʿ)*

- dt ḥḥ* (cf. the previous note), while in one of the horizontal strips the king is described as *ḥꜣpy wr*, an epithet also affected by Akhenaten. Behind, on the framework supporting the back, there are three further instances of *ḥꜣ3 nfr*, each in a similar protocol beginning with *ḥꜣ3 nḥt ḥꜣš mryty*.
- 89 See O. Wanscher, *The Art of Furniture: 5000 Years of Furniture and Interiors* (London, 1968), 12, pls. on 36–41, and, in more detail, O. Wanscher, *Sella Curulis: The Folding Stool, an Ancient Symbol of Dignity* (Copenhagen, 1980), 26, 48–58, pls. on 29f.; and cf. J. R. Harris, 'The Folding Stool of a Famous Soldier', *AcOr* 37 (1976), 24 n. 13.
- 90 It is evident from the form of the shrines that there should have been a fifth, of similar type to the present innermost, fourth one, and five in all are quite clearly shown on the tomb-plan of Ramesses IV; cf. Noblecourt, *Vie et mort*, 259f.
- 91 E.g., Engelbach, *ASAE* 40 (1940), pl. 24; Piankoff, *Shrines*, pls. 38, 39, 42, 43, 44 (=second shrine) and Piankoff, *Shrines*, pls. 26, 28 (=third).
- 92 E.g., Piankoff, *Shrines*, pls. 38, 43, 44 (=second shrine) and *ibid.*, pls. 24, 25, 27, 28 (=third).
- 93 E.g., Piankoff, *Shrines*, pls. 39, 40, 41, 43 (=second shrine) and *ibid.*, pls. 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30 (=third); cf. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon* (MIFAO 72) (Cairo, 1951–52), pl. 7. Note too the transposed cartouches on the ceiling of the third shrine: Piankoff, *Chapelles*, pl. 9 = *Shrines*, fig. 28, and the reversal of signs within a cartouche on the roof: *Chapelles*, 61.
- 94 See, for example, the columns of text on the front of the second shrine: Piankoff, *Chapelles*, 26, and, on the third shrine, the texts on the roof and flanking the right-hand wall: *ibid.* 61, 64, as well as the phrase *iw.f ḥḥw r ḥḥ dt*, as used of Akhenaten in Kiya's standardized protocol, and an instance of *ḥꜣ3 nfr*: *ibid.* 65.
- 95 Note the forms of the sun-disc on both the shrines: e.g., Piankoff, *Chapelles* 33, (=second) and 64, 65 (=third), and also the disc with arms as a determinative of *wbn*: *ibid.* 51 (=second); and cf. Piankoff, *Shrines*, 16.
- 96 Engelbach, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 138. Engelbach was the first to suggest that there had been alterations, although he believed that these were confined to the second shrine. Piankoff, *Chapelles*, 51–2 n. 2, denied there was any trace (as also did Roeder, *ZÄS*, 83 (1958), 71) but conceded that virtually imperceptible changes were technically possible. No one has yet, to my knowledge, expressed any doubts concerning the innermost, fourth shrine, but this too has some rather inept cartouches; cf. Piankoff, *Chapelles* pls. 17–20; *Shrines*, pl. 21.
- 97 Noblecourt, *Vie et mort*, pl. 37(b); Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 41 top; Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 92; Edwards, *Tutankhamun*, pl. on 154–5; Silverman, *Masterpieces*, pl. on 107.
- 98 A similar error occurs on the ceiling of the third shrine: cf. Piankoff, *Chapelles*, pl. 9 = *Shrines*, fig. 28.
- 99 These points have indeed been noted, though without further comment, e.g., by Edwards, *Tutankhamun*, 155, and Silverman, *Masterpieces*, 106 — the latter remarking also on *ḥꜣ3 nfr*. In the epithet *ḥꜣ3 iwnw šm'w* the *ḥꜣ3* in fact is missing and *šm'w* reversed.
- 100 Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 93.
- 101 Louvre E.79 = N.767: I. Woldering, *Egypt: The Art of the Pharaohs* (London, 1963), pl. 46 on 191 — in colour, but printed in reverse. H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs: Part 1. Reversals* (New York, 1977), 34–5, appears to have overlooked the orientation of the cartouche as such, and the fact that the hieroglyphs are reversed within it.
- 102 Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 44 bottom; Vilímková and Darbois, *Egyptian Jewellery*, pl. 42 (reversed); Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 95.

- 103 The nomen stands on the right and is thus ranged with the white crown and Isis, where one would in fact expect to find the prenomen.
- 104 Both elements: Aldred, *Jewels*, pls. 99–100.
- 105 E.g., Obj.nos.261*m*, 261*n*, 261*o* and 261*p*(2). Obj.no.261*m*: Noblecourt, *Vie et mort*, pl. 39(b); Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 43; Vilímková and Darbois, *Egyptian Jewellery*, pl. 37; Aldred, *Jewels*, pl. 98 (reversed). Obj.no.261*n*: Vilímková and Darbois, op. cit., pl. 49; Aldred, op. cit., pl. 94. Obj.no.261*o*: Lange and Hirmer, op. cit., pl. 44 top; Vilímková and Darbois, op. cit., pl. 51; Aldred, op. cit., pl. 96. Obj.no.261*p*(2) is unpublished: in the centre there was a figure, now broken away, with a large sun-disc above and flanked by Isis and Nephthys.
- 106 Noblecourt, *Vie et mort*, pl. 6; Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pl. 35; Edwards, *Tutankhamun*, pl. on 40–1. In particular, one may note the loss of a sun-disc from the king's crown and of elements of the *sm3* (*t3wy*) between the legs of the throne, in both cases filled in with gold; the absence, remarked by A. Lucas, 'Glass Figures', *ASAE* 39 (1939), 231, of one of the queen's two bracelets, and of the vessel she held; the poor fit of the gold at the back of the queen's wig and headdress, and the way that the latter blocks out not only the arms of the Aten but also the final *hh* of the formula *di nḥ dī hh*; the change in the tint of the gold beneath the queen's titulary (best seen in Edwards); and, lastly, the traces between the arms of the Aten of something that looks like a cartouche (visible clearly in Noblecourt).
- 107 The identity of the figures was questioned initially by C. Vandersleyen, 'Objectivité des portraits égyptiens', *BSFE* 73 (1975), 24.
- 108 Discussion has centred on Obj.no.289*b*, one of two statuettes of the king on a panther (the other is 289*a*): Edwards, *Tutankhamun*, pls. on 191–3; El Mallakh and Brackman, *Gold*, pl. 71; and cf., in particular, Harris, 'Nefertiti Rediviva', *AcOr* 35 (1973), 12 n. 46; Vandersleyen, *BSFE* 73 (1975), 24. The four goddesses flanking the gilded canopic shrine, Obj.no.266*a*, are remarkably similar in both appearance and style, and so, though without the feminine contours, is one of the figures portraying the king as harpooner, Obj.no.275*e* (the other is 275*c*). In neither case do the 'paired' figures properly match each other.
- 109 The inscriptions were added in yellow paint on top of the black resin varnish applied to the pedestals, and several are now beginning to disappear.
- 110 These are of crystalline limestone (54*ee*), glass (54*ff*) and glazed steatite (54*vv*): see Feucht, *SAK* 11 (1984), 406, pl. 13(A) and, for the glass example, J. D. Cooney, 'Glass Sculpture in Ancient Egypt', *JGS* 2 (1960), 15, fig. 5. Two (*ff* and *vv*) have loops for suspension, and one of these (*vv*) has suffered some damage, which seems to be ancient. None of them looks like Tut'ankhamūn, and 54*ee* is quite distinct from the other two, which may relate to Akhenaten — as suggested for all three in PM, I.ii², 575 and by Feucht, loc. cit. A similar piece, in glass, is in the British Museum, no. 15767: see Cooney, *JGS* 2 (1960), 16; J. D. Cooney, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, IV: *Glass* (London, 1976), 153 (1782). Here too may be noted the figure on top of a silver stick, Obj.no.235*b*, the cast of whose features is closer to that of the four canopic coffins than to the parallel figure in gold (Obj.no.235*a*); cf., for the two together, C. Aldred, 'The Carnarvon Statuette of Amūn', *JEA* 42 (1956), pl. 2.
- 111 See Manniche, *Musical Instruments*, 8 and cf. pl. 10.
- 112 Carter and Mace, I, pl. 55; Edwards, *Tutankhamun*, pl. on 64–5.
- 113 The only clear sign of alteration as such is the replacement of *t* by *mn* in the king's cartouche on the lid (though apparently not on the sides). A similar change was presumably made in the name of 'Ankhesenamūn, although there is now no trace of this — which may be explained by the inserts. The texts on the lid, especially 4

and 6 as numbered in *Corpus*, incorporate phrases that echo the idiom of the Amarna period.

- 114 There are, among the shabti figures, seven anomalous pieces, Obj.nos.327*h-k* and 496*d* (three numbered together). These are of similar, non-royal type and bear the ordinary formula, but without a name — nor are they inscribed in any way for Tut'ankhamūn. Their status is problematic, though for a possible parallel cf. Cairo, CG 24252–3, from the tomb of Amenophis II.
- 115 If, as has been suggested, his mother was Kiya (cf. Harris, 'Kiya', *CdE* 49 (1974), 25–30, specifically 30 n. 6, and Harris and Manniche, 'Amarna-tiden i nyt lys', in *Akhnaton og Nefertiti = Louisiana Revy* 17 årg. nr. 1 (okt. 1976), 10–11) her absence may be explained in terms of dynastic manoeuvring — indeed, it is even possible that Tut'ankhamūn had no knowledge of her.

Addendum

For the cartouches upon the stela in University College, U.C.410 (cf. n.66 above) see also M.Gabold, 'Le droit d'ainesse d'Ankhesenpaaton', *BSEG* 14 (1990) 33–47.

Royal Figures from Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb:

*Their Historical Usefulness*¹

CLAUDE VANDERSLEYEN

WHAT I am going to say probably is not new, not entirely in any case, but with time observations are confirmed and thus transform some hypotheses into facts.

The tomb of Tut'ankhamūn contains quite an important quantity of royal figures: three coffins, a mask, canopic stoppers, and some other things less definable such as the head on the lotus flower, the so-called 'mannequin', some small gilded wooden figurines like the king on the papyrus skiff, without forgetting the shabtis or the relief decoration of the golden throne, the golden shrine, and the paintings of the burial chamber.² Normally, all these figures represent the king, and, when there is a name associated with the image, it is the name of Tut'ankhamūn. Nevertheless, there are some disquieting unlikenesses between some faces: for instance, the face of the second coffin (Obj.no.254) is not very much like that of the third coffin (Obj.no.255); the couple represented on the back of the throne (Obj.no.91) is not very much like the couple on the golden shrine (Obj.no.108). In short, there are here some portraits which are like Tut'ankhamūn and others which are not, so there are some faces in the tomb which are not his.

How can one know what the real Tut'ankhamūn looked like? One need only compare the effigies found in the tomb with the series of faces duly identified; for there are some. Even before the discovery of the tomb, we had statues of the king. Of course, the usurpation of many of them by Haremhab at first clouded the issue. On the almost complete statue found in the Cachette in 1903 and 1904,³ Haremhab had written his name over another, but on the back pillar he had not altered the inscription: here one can still read Tut'ankhamūn's original names. This was a revelation for Legrain: "Si l'on compare cette statue avec celle du Khonsou de Karnak,⁴ on demeure frappé de la ressemblance presque absolue des visages. On a cru jusqu'aujourd'hui que le Khonsou était un portrait d'Harmhabi; je crois que c'est celui de Toutankhamanou".⁵ Some other usurped or uninscribed statues have been identified from the statue of the Cachette — and sometimes very recently. It was in 1967, in the Paris Exhibition Catalogue, written by Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt,⁶ that a triad of a king between Amūn and Mut was attributed to Tut'ankhamūn;⁷ one had already thought of this king when looking

at the bust Cairo CG 603,⁸ or at the colossus of Medinet Habu usurped by Ay and Ḥaremḥab.⁹

In 1922, Howard Carter — on behalf of Lord Carnarvon — discovered the tomb, its treasures and its royal figures. One must still remember that, at the time, very few Egyptologists accepted the idea that the ancient Egyptians made exact portraits — many still do not believe it — and the then recent discovery of many heads and ‘strange’ reliefs at el-‘Amarna had so completely overthrown accepted opinions that it was believed that, during the Amarna period, neither rules nor reason existed in art. One agreed to see in the head on the lotus flower (Obj.no.8),¹⁰ found during the very first days, or in the gold mask (Obj.no.256a)¹¹, which only appeared in October 1925, beautiful works which perfectly corresponded to what one already knew about Tut‘ankhamūn’s physiognomy, but the differences between these works and other objects from the tomb were attributed to stylistic variation. Note that the paintings in the burial chamber — of a peculiar style, but from the hand of a master — were considered to be of poor quality, made in a hurry and without any art! As often in the past, epigraphy raised the first doubts. In 1940, Reginald Engelbach, then chief keeper of the Cairo Museum, noticed that inside the miniature coffins,¹² Tut‘ankhamūn’s cartouche covered another one: the cartouche of ‘Ankhkheprurē’.¹³ Although this changing of the name is evident, there seems to be no alteration of the face. One must thus infer that these small coffins do not represent Tut‘ankhamūn.

There are some other cases where inscriptions seem original, but where the physiognomies allow us to harbour doubt. Describing the face of the third coffin,¹⁴ the solid gold one, Carter wrote: ‘The face of this gold coffin was again that of the king, but the features, though conventional, by symbolizing Osiris, were even more youthful than those on the other coffins.’¹⁵ It is true that this face is very youthful; but this impression is the same each time one is in front of the ‘real’ Tut‘ankhamūn. In fact, the face of the second coffin¹⁶ is very different, being square and sullen, whereas Tut‘ankhamūn’s face, on the mask or on the third coffin, is thin, triangular, and happy. This harshness of expression and the very peculiar facial shape of the second coffin appear again on the canopic stoppers;¹⁷ this is not surprising since the small coffins protected by them did not belong originally to Tut‘ankhamūn. To whom did they belong? Doubtless to ‘Ankhkheprurē’. Is this the person whose mummy was found in Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings? One must remember that the face of the second coffin was compared to the face rebuilt from this mummy’s head,¹⁸ and that the miniature coffins are small copies of the second coffin.

To sum up, there is in the tomb, a coherent mass of things that belonged to a king for whom an important set of funerary furniture had been prepared, of which the most spectacular works have been mentioned: a large coffin admirably decorated; four canopic stoppers; and the corresponding miniature coffins, which could make us think that the whole alabaster casket¹⁹ to which the stoppers and the small coffins fit, had belonged to ‘Ankhkheprurē’ as well. It should be carefully re-examined, together with the second coffin and some of the other objects. Beinlich and Saleh, in their *Corpus* of the tomb’s inscriptions, noted that a wooden casket, a gold sequin, a bow, a piece of cloth, and two bracelets²⁰

belonged to this 'Ankhkheprurē' without the name being covered by another when the things were placed in the tomb. But the bow-fronted box and even the gold trappings which encircled Tut'ankhamūn's mummy²¹ had been taken from 'Ankhkheprurē'. This time his name was replaced by Tut'ankhamūn's. Would it be from the Tomb 55 mummy that all this was taken?

What has just been claimed about the second coffin, the canopic stoppers, and the miniature coffins could perhaps be contested, and one could think it all highly subjective, a result of my imagination. Here is an entirely incontestable case: the personage upon a cheetah.²² Two statuettes of the type, at first sight very similar, were found in the tomb. On the files given to the Griffith Institute, Carter separated them on the basis of their style, considering one Amarna, the other Theban.²³ In reality, one of them represents the king; the other a woman dressed as a king. The arguments concur here to take away any hesitation: the natural shapes of the second figure are perfectly feminine: the breasts are more protruding than Amarna eccentricity would allow for a man; the calves are enveloped with a thin fatty layer under the skin, veiling the muscles; the loin-cloth goes down lower than on the masculine figure; the breadth of shoulders is narrow; the hips are long and broad. One can also notice the convention, here rather rigorously observed, of representing the nape of the neck as concave when it is convex on Amarna statues of men. Looking at the face, one immediately notices that it is entirely at variance with Tut'ankhamūn's features. Thus it is a woman who had the very surprising privilege to be wholly represented as a king — more so even than Hatshepsut; for, although a woman physically, she is here bare-chested, as a man. The feminine aspect of this statute was first observed some time ago. Was Perepelkin²⁴ the first to mention this peculiarity? John Harris drew my attention to it in 1975. However, looking over the books and the numerous catalogues where the work has been presented and commented upon since, one notices that it is always described as a masculine king, never as a woman.

Two papers have been published on this subject, adducing useful remarks. Gay Robins published in 1984 a study concerning the proportions of both statues, considering them, again, as two masculine figures. Her figure no. 1, which she describes as 'very much in the Amarna style', is the one which interests us now. She ends her meticulous analysis by saying: 'It is unlikely that the two statues were made at the same time. One might even suggest that statue (1) was made during Akhenaten's reign, but was left unused and appropriated for the funerary equipment of Tutankhamun, possibly with the addition of the supporting panther, if this was unsuitable to the Aton religion.'²⁵ Gay Robins has thus shown that this statuette antedates Tut'ankhamūn's reign; it thus cannot represent this king.

The second article was written by Marianne Eaton-Krauss.²⁶ The statuette upon the cheetah could not possibly be a woman, according to the author, because of one very important feature: the position of the navel, which is different in men and women, not only in biological reality, but also in Amarna art. Many instances in relief cited by the author indeed prove the point. By drawing a line from the navel through the fullest part of the buttocks, one notices that this line goes down more obliquely with Nefertiti than with Akhenaten, for whom it is almost horizontal. Thus, the masculine navel is placed lower than the feminine navel. Marianne

Eaton-Krauss applies this observation to the statuette upon the cheetah and concludes: 'Despite a superficial physiognomical resemblance to the so-called tired Nefertiti in Berlin, the very low position of the "Amarna navel" precludes the identification of the person depicted as a woman, Nefertiti or otherwise'. Let us immediately say that this statuette certainly is not like the so-called tired Nefertiti in Berlin;²⁷ it much more reminds me of the four goddesses standing by the canopic chest. Marianne Eaton-Krauss goes on saying: 'As D. P. Silverman has prudently suggested, the inscription on the statue base is best accepted at face value: the statue depicts Tutanchamun, albeit in a style current towards the end of Akhenaten's reign.'²⁸ I think I have insisted enough — and I shall never tire of it — that a figure is more reliable than an inscription. The face of the statuette upon the cheetah has nothing in common with Tut'ankhamūn. Besides, I do not consider the argument of the navel so decisive. If the position of the navel shows that this woman is a man, the shape of the breasts certainly shows that this man is a woman. Moreover, I am afraid that the criterion of the position of the navel is not absolute: rare indeed is the rule without an exception, and it is still not known how such navel heights varied with style. Thus, the colossus of Akhenaten (Cairo JE 49528) has doubtlessly a very low navel, lower than is biologically possible,²⁹ but on the pair statue of Akhenaten and Nefertiti in the Louvre³⁰ — a very small sculpture, I agree — the royal navel is placed noticeably higher than that of the so-called tired Nefertiti in Berlin. The sculptor who made the statuette upon the cheetah was perhaps faced with an insoluble problem: how to represent a woman dressed in a loin-cloth? Could it not be this loin-cloth that determined the position of the navel? For a masculine loin-cloth, a masculine navel?

For myself, I shall conclude by saying that in this figure we see not Nefertiti, but a woman who enjoyed an extraordinary prestige during Akhenaten's reign, a prestige high enough for her to be shown clothed in the royal insignia. The woman, for sure, lost her rank, since this exceptional funerary object was not used for her own funeral. I insist on the fact that the features of this lady remind me of those of the four goddesses — so feminine and so Amarnan — protecting the canopic chest.³¹ These, as Gay Robins has shown by the same criteria of proportions, could only have been made during Akhenaten's reign.³²

The third document to consider is the royal throne or golden throne (Obj.no.91).³³ It is an Atenist monument, as was noticed a long time ago. It is the only object in the tomb showing the divine sun spreading out its rays on the royal couple as it did during the most beautiful days of el-'Amarna. At first sight, the rays seem to have been cut through, as in Ra'mose's tomb, but this is not so sure; for when one looks more carefully, it can be seen that only some of the rays have been severed while some remain entire. The names of the royal pair on the front side of the backrest are Tut'ankhamūn and 'Ankhesenamūn, but on the reverse and on the elbow-rests, one can only read Tut'ankhaten and 'Ankhesenpaaten.³⁴ Thus, it is obvious that the front of the throne has been altered. Marianne Eaton-Krauss studied Tut'ankhamūn's four seats deserving the name of throne and published some remarks concerning them.³⁵ These four thrones are: the royal or golden throne (Obj.no.91), the so-called sacerdotal throne (Obj.no.351),³⁶ the child's throne (Obj.no.349)³⁷, and the throne which

carries on the back the image of the god Ḥeḥ (Obj.no.87).³⁸ Just by looking at the royal names inscribed on these seats, Marianne Eaton-Krauss was able to classify these four thrones as follows. The oldest would be the sacerdotal throne, for the royal name on the back and on the front is the name Tut'ankhaten, except for the two horizontal inscriptions in the front of the back where his name appears twice as Tut'ankhamūn and could only be the result of a replacement of the text. Then comes the gold throne, the back of which bears on its front the name Tut'ankhamūn only, when Tut'ankhaten can be read on all the other parts of the throne; and finally come the two other seats where the only name is Tut'ankhamūn, the oldest certainly being the small chair because it was made for a child. I only partly agree with this scheme.

Let us return to the gold throne. What strikes me most is the representation of the royal couple. This image has nothing in common with Tut'ankhamūn and 'Ankhesenamūn as figured on the ivory and ebony casket³⁹ and on the golden shrine.⁴⁰ On this shrine, the king and the queen are once represented more or less in the same attitude as on the throne's back.⁴¹ This allows us to compare the difference in style. On the back of the throne, the king is much more limp than on the two other monuments; he reminds me very much of Akhenaten when he is represented seated. If this couple is not Tut'ankhamūn and his queen, we must then conclude that the throne antedates Tut'ankhamūn's reign, and that his name was written instead of another. This could perhaps explain the uneven condition of the gold foil covering the surface of the back around the figures. This would have had to be taken off, either to transform it or probably to replace it, since the inscriptions were made in repoussé. Only a careful examination of the object in Cairo would tell us where the joints of these leaves are located. These alterations would also explain some evident damage: a sun of the royal headdress is missing, and the gold leaf occupying its place does not bear any trace of it; similarly, under the king's seat some papyrus stems are lacking, while a strap of the king's sandal and one of the queen's are also missing; in addition, a part of the cushion placed under the king's feet has disappeared. These are perhaps part of the damage Marianne Eaton-Krauss thinks due to a prolonged use of the throne. The sacerdotal seat seems to show similar traces of use. By whom could these chairs have been employed for such a length of time? The face of the king on the back of the golden throne reminds me most of Akhenaten; as for the queen, we must be cautious; I will only insist for the moment on the fact that she is not like 'Ankhesenamūn, nor like Nefertiti.

So, my views are as follows: the golden throne, certainly, and the sacerdotal throne, probably, are of Akhenaten's reign. This is why they were both made for an adult person. The most Atenist is the gold throne, because of the beaming sun which dominates it, surrounded with the cartouches of the Aten in their final form, and also because of the physiognomy of the royal faces. Then comes the sacerdotal throne which still shows a sun and the cartouches of the Aten, but without rays and hands. The child's seat, as it only bears the royal name 'Tut'ankhamūn', would have been made, or at least decorated, during year 2 of the reign. The height of the seat is 36 cm. According to statistics concerning Belgian children, this would correspond to the legs of a child of 10 to 12 years, even less if one

takes the height of a foot stool into account.⁴² The fact that the *sma-tawy* symbols have been torn away from the three adult thrones and not from the child's seems to me very significant. This defacement would antedate the reign of Tut'ankhamūn.

Conclusion

The funerary equipment of Tut'ankhamūn's tomb was thus composed of objects coming from very diverse sources. This has long been known, but I think that one can add to those cases where epigraphy proves an usurpation a number of instances where usurpation is revealed by iconography. This would invite us to look again at some pieces with a more suspicious eye.⁴³ There were in Tut'ankhamūn's tomb several important works taken from 'Ankhkheprurē's funeral furniture, including his coffin, canopic stoppers, and miniature canopic coffins.⁴⁴ There is the representation of a 'woman-king' upon her cheetah, which reminds me of the four goddesses of the canopic chest; the fact that all five statuettes are of Akhenaten's reign brings to mind the queen figured with Akhenaten on two small stelae in Berlin,⁴⁵ dressed in pharaonic regalia and presented in a sentimental relationship with the king. Finally, there were thrones that could have belonged to Akhenaten himself, and I must say that the queen anointing him, figured on the back of the golden throne, reminds me very much, by her wig and her long 'muzzle' face, of the fine canopic heads found in Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings, which probably represent Kiya, Akhenaten's ephemeral favourite queen.⁴⁶ So, more than we think, and probably much more than I have said, the contents of Tut'ankhamūn's tomb represent an important part of what has been rescued of the Amarna legacy.⁴⁷

Addendum

At the end of the lecture there were no questions, but only some theoretical objections which it might be useful to answer. One individual reproached me for having worked with slides, which might give a false idea of the faces shown since variations of lighting can change the vision one has of the works. This remark might make one think that I wished to abuse the public's confidence. My long-standing interest in royal iconography is well known, and I have had frequent opportunity to see and to examine personally all the works shown. Since I do not for one moment believe that the Cairo Museum would have loaned the objects for them to be studied at Highclere first hand, only through slides was it possible to present to a large audience what I wished to show and to have understood. The best lighting is that which gives a true idea of the works without any effects of illusion and it is so with all the slides presented. They were not chosen to distort the truth, but because they showed very well what was discussed, and what could be seen does really and concretely exist.

It is true that the four canopic stoppers of Tut'ankhamūn's tomb are not absolutely the same. That does not change the fact that, considered together, the

faces of these four heads are not at all like Tut'ankhamūn's face. In different portraits of the same person variations exist which do not prevent identification; this is true for the portraits of any period. An excellent example is that of the three Sesostri III statues in the British Museum (EA 684,685,686): no-one hesitates to recognise the distinctive physiognomy of this king despite the fact that the three statues show considerable differences of aspect and proportion. This is also true of the four canopic heads.

'Quantification' — that is to say, the transformation into numeric form of the differences observed — is not the answer to everything. One must also consider what one can see, and what numerals do not make especially conspicuous. *To believe our eyes* is not an unscientific action; on the contrary, it is perfectly objective.

The fact that the works compared exhibit differences in material is not an obstacle. An Egyptian artist can make the same face in any material without betraying the model; a difference in material might explain some subtle nuances but does not compromise the face's identification. One may compare the perfect fidelity of the gold mask with that of the head on the lotus flower, which is made of wood stuccoed and painted, and the black granite head in Brussels.

As for deciding if the gilded wooden naos is of high or medium quality, it is a matter of words. That is why I was forced to declare publicly, at the risk of being considered as 'not scientifically serious', that *my opinion* is that this naos is of high quality. It is true that the engraver's lines are quick and rather clumsy, but the sureness of his hand is infallible. One must not confuse the academic exercise of producing a very meticulous work with the virtuosity of a master who ignores none of the essentials. It is not so long ago that Manet and Van Gogh were reproached for the same 'clumsiness'.

Notes

- 1 See also on this subject, C. Vandersleyen, 'L'Iconographie de Toutankhamon et les effigies provenant de sa tombe', *BSEG* 9–10 (Mélanges Wild) (1984–5), 309–21. This new study seeks not to change but support the ideas defended formerly, in the light of recent publications and by approaching the question from different points of view.
- 2 Bibliography: PM I, ii,² 569–86; H. Murray and M. Nuttall, *A Handlist to Howard Carter's Catalogue of Objects in Tutankhamun's Tomb* (Tutankhamun's Tomb Series I) (Oxford, 1963) and H. Beinlich and Mohammed Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford, 1989), xiii–xiv, where list of the exhibition catalogues and the recent illustrated publications can be found.
- 3 Cairo CG 42091; PM II², 140–1.
- 4 Cairo CG 38488; PM II², 237.
- 5 G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, I (Catalogue gén.) (Cairo, 1906), 54.
- 6 *Toutankhamon et son temps* (Catalogue d'exposition) (Paris, 1967) (hereafter *Paris 1967*).
- 7 *Paris 1967*, flyleaf.
- 8 PM II², 282; cf. *Paris 1967*, back flyleaf and No. 44.
- 9 Cairo JE 59869, PM II², 458(c). *Paris 1967*, No. 45.

- 10 I. E. S. Edwards, *Toutankhamon, sa tombe et ses trésors* (1978) (Original English edition, London, 1976) hereinafter Edwards, gives the works more or less in the order of Carter's numbering; Obj.no.8 is on p. 22. Cf. also Ch. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Vie et mort d'un pharaon. Toutankhamon* (Paris, 1963) (hereinafter Desroches), frontispiece; the colour plates of this book are of outstanding quality.
- 11 Edwards, 133–5; Desroches, pl. 26, p. 114.
- 12 Obj.no.266g. Examples: Edwards, 164; Desroches, pl. 34, p. 162.
- 13 R. Engelbach, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 137–8.
- 14 Obj.no.254. Cf. Edwards, 128–31; Desroches, pl. 56, p. 268.
- 15 H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen* (London, 1974), 128.
- 16 Obj.no.254. Cf. Carter, op. cit., frontispiece; Edwards, 121; Desroches, pl. 55, p. 268.
- 17 Obj.no.266c. Cf. M. V. Seton-Williams, *Le Trésor de Toutankhamon* (Paris, 1980) (hereinafter Seton-Williams), 101, fig. 53; Desroches, pl. 33, p. 161.
- 18 R. G. Harrison, *JEA* 52 (1966), 95–119; also C. Vandersleyen, *BSEG* 9–10, 313–14.
- 19 Obj.no.266b = JE 60687: cf. Edwards, 162; Desroches, pl. 32, p. 160.
- 20 Beinlich and Saleh, op. cit., Obj.nos 1k, 46gg, 48h, 101s, 620(41), 620(42).
- 21 Ibid., Obj.nos. 79, 256a and b.
- 22 The cheetah is the only animal to have those characteristic marks on both sides of the nose. However, I admit that the body is more like a leopard's or a panther's.
- 23 Obj.nos.289a (Theban) and b (Amarna); cf. Edwards, 190–3. Edwards does not reproduce the statuette 289a of which I do not know any good published photograph; for her study mentioned below, Gay Robins used the Burton C/B 14 1519 photograph in the Griffith Institute.
- 24 G. Perepelkin, in several studies and especially in *The Secret of the Gold Coffin* (Moscow, 1978) (the Russian edition was published in 1968), proved an extraordinary observer of the Amarna period.
- 25 G. Robins, 'Two Statues from the Tomb of Tutankhamun', *GM* 71 (1984), 47–9; the quotation is on p. 49.
- 26 M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Miscellanea Amarnensia', *CdE* 56 (1981), 245–64; see, concerning our topic, especially pp. 258–64: The 'Amarna Navel'.
- 27 H. Schäfer *Amarna in Religion und Kunst* (Berlin, 1931), pl. 21; Aldred, *New Kingdom Art* (London, 1961), fig. 124–5.
- 28 D. P. Silverman, *Archaeology* 29 (1976), 237; Eaton-Krauss, op. cit. 264.
- 29 Cf. for example Aldred, op. cit., fig. 107; J. Yoyotte, *Les Trésors des Pharaons* (Geneva, 1968), 100.
- 30 E 15593 Cf. Leclant et al., *L'Empire des Conquérants* (L'Univers des Formes II) (Paris, 1979), 175, fig. 162.
- 31 Edwards, 158–61; Desroches, pl. 31, p. 159.
- 32 Robins, 'Isis, Nephthys, Selket and Neith Represented on the Sarcophagus of Tutankhamun and in four free standing Statues found in KV 62', *GM* 72 (1984), 21–3.
- 33 Edwards, 39–41; Desroches, pl. 6, p. 30 et 10, p. 42.
- 34 Cf. Beinlich and Saleh, op. cit. 35–6.
- 35 Eaton-Krauss, 'Die Throne Tutanchamuns: Vorläufige Bemerkungen', *GM* 76 (1984), 7–10.
- 36 Edwards, 225; Desroches, pl. 12, p. 52.
- 37 To the references given by the author p. 10, n. 15, add *Le Règne du soleil: Akhnaton et Nefertiti* (Catalogue d'exposition) (Brussels, 1975), n°. 42.
- 38 Edwards, 42–3; Desroches, pl. 14, p. 70 (detail of the back).
- 39 Obj.no.540, Edwards, 240–7; Desroches, pl. 5, p. 29.
- 40 Obj.no.108, Edwards, 52–6; Desroches, pl. 7, p. 39, 8a and b, 9a and b, pp. 40 and 41.

- 41 Edwards, 54; Desroches, pl. 8a, p. 40.
- 42 Fr. Twiesselmann, *Développement biométrique de l'enfant à l'adulte* (Brussels–Paris, 1969), 20. Calculating the proportions, I considered the leg, from the back of the knee to the ground, equal to 42 or 45% of the whole leg (from the front of the hip — *iliospinale antérieur* — to the ground), and to 25% of the person's total height. All this confirms quite well the age of 18 given to the mummy by Derry and Saleh Bey.
- 43 It is clear that the four chapels covering the sarcophagus are not of the same period. Engelbach, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 138 and pl. 24, gave the epigraphic proof concerning the second chapel (Obj.no.237 = JE 60666, PM I, ii² p. 571; Edwards, 102; Seton-Williams, 62–75). It seems to me probable that the third chapel (Obj.no.238 = JE 60667, PM I, ii,² p. 571; Seton-Williams, 53–61) was also usurped, so neglected are the lay-out and the engraving of the cartouches.
- 44 Where are the viscera which should have been in the miniature coffins?
- 45 Berlin 17813 and 20716, cf. H. Schäfer, op. cit., pls. 30 and 31.
- 46 PM I, ii,² 566; Aldred, op cit., fig. 136; cf. R. Krauss, 'Kija — ursprüngliche Besitzerin der Kanopen aus KV 55' *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 67–80.
- 47 I gladly thank Maureen Haneborg-Lühr for translating my French text, and Sandra Nibbi for her advice on speaking English more correctly.

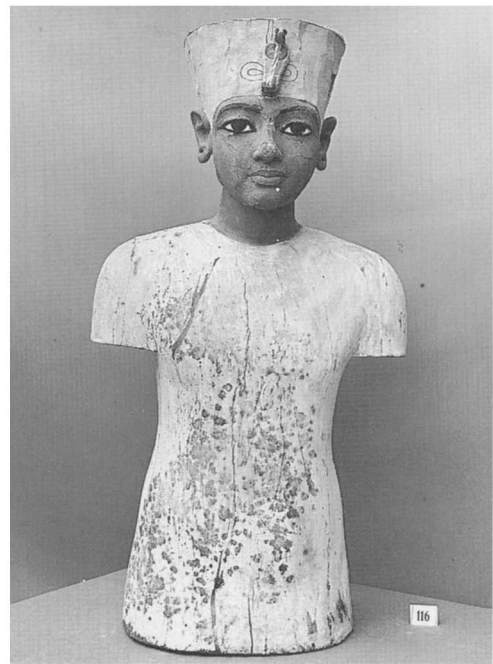


PLATE XI (Left) The second coffin;
(right) the 'mannequin'
Photos: Griffith Institute, Oxford

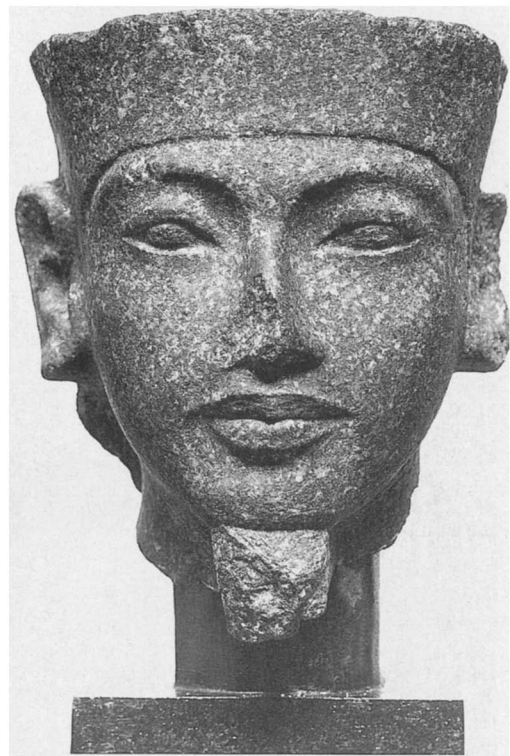
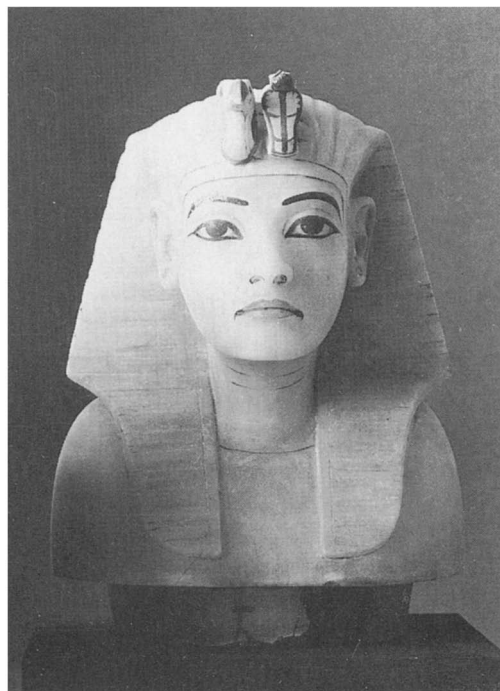


PLATE XII (Left) One of the canopic stoppers; (right) head of the king as Amun
(Brussels E5698) *Photos: Griffith Institute, Oxford, and Musées Royaux d'Art et
d'Histoire, Bruxelles*



PLATE XIII (Above) The back of the 'golden throne'; (below) panel from the little gold shrine Photos: Griffith Institute, Oxford



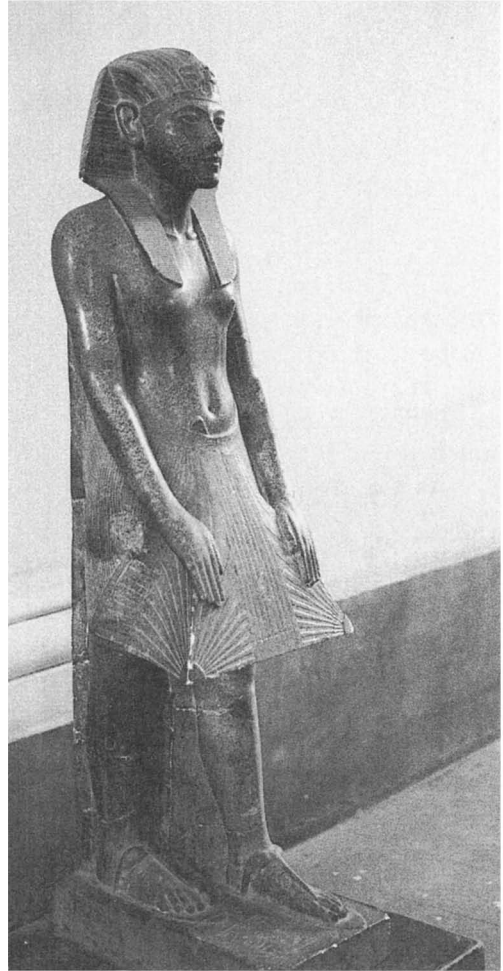
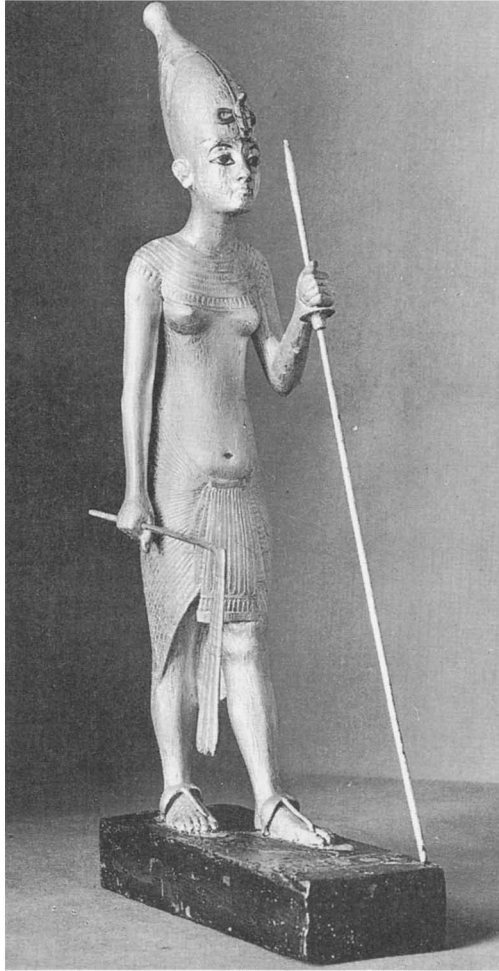


PLATE XIV (Left) The 'king' on the cheetah; (right) statue Cairo CG 42091 *Photo (right): Griffith Institute, Oxford*

The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutʿankhamūn*

MARIANNE EATON-KRAUSS

THE sarcophagus in which Tutʿankhamūn was laid to rest, Carter Obj.no.240, can still be seen today in the king's tomb, No. 62, in the Valley of the Kings (see pl. xv).¹ The box, which measures 1.33 m by 2.56 m at its base and is 1.48 m tall, is carved from dark red quartzite, but the lid is made of red granite, once tinted to match the box.

As has been noted previously, form and decoration of the sarcophagus in KV 62 relate it to three other royal sarcophagi of the late Eighteenth Dynasty, viz. those of Akhenaten,² Ay,³ and Ḥaremḥab.⁴ All four have the same architectural form, but, whereas torus moulding and cavetto cornice are included in the design of the lid of Akhenaten's sarcophagus, the same elements crown the boxes of the other three sarcophagi. As for the lids, that belonging to Ay's sarcophagus, rediscovered in 1972 by Otto Schaden in the debris of WV 23, is domed, with simple flat ends.⁵ Ḥaremḥab's lid has the form called 'gable-ended' by Hayes in his study of pre-Amarna royal sarcophagi. In neither Ay's nor Ḥaremḥab's case is the head-end of the lid distinguished from the foot by its form; rather, the arrangement of the texts determined each lid's proper placement atop the respective box. By contrast, the form alone of the lid belonging to the box in KV 62 provided adequate information for its correct orientation, since it is shaped like a sloping shrine roof.

The three post-Amarna sarcophagi differ in other respects as well. For example, udjat-eyes are not included in the decoration of either the lid or the box of Ḥaremḥab's sarcophagus; Ay's lid bears two eye panels, both on the upper surface and oriented toward the long sides of the box. In the case of the sarcophagus in Tutʿankhamūn's tomb, a single eye is shown on each long side at the head end of the box.

The design of all four sarcophagi includes female figures at the corners of the box. In Akhenaten's case the ladies depict the Great Royal Wife Nefertiti; her figures stand squarely at the corners, an arrangement duplicated in the design of the box in KV 62 where the figures depict the tutelary goddesses — Isis,



PLATE XV The sarcophagus of Tut'ankhamūn. *Photo: Griffith Institute, Oxford.*

Nephthys, Selket, and Neith. The sarcophagi of Ay and Ḥaremḥab show the bodies of the same deities displaced onto the long sides of the box.

The orientation of the female figures distinguishes the design of the sarcophagus used for Tut'ankhamūn's burial from the other three. In the decoration of the sarcophagi of Akhenaten, Ay, and Ḥaremḥab, the figures face away from the ends and toward the middle of the long sides of the box. By contrast, all four goddesses on the box in KV 62 face forward, toward the head-end which, moreover, is the most densely inscribed lateral surface. Only Tut'ankhamūn's sarcophagus exhibits this unity of design, with its architecture, decoration, and texts all serving to emphasize the importance of the head-end.

The inscriptions on the sarcophagus box in KV 62 present nothing out of the ordinary, but the texts borne by the lid include a recitation by Beḥdety which is unique for a royal sarcophagus of the Eighteenth Dynasty. A remarkable omission from the texts of the monument as a whole is any reference to the sky goddess Nut. All Eighteenth Dynasty, pre-Amarna sarcophagi include an invocation to Nut, as do the sarcophagi of Ay and Ḥaremḥab as well.

In its present state, the sarcophagus in which Tut'ankhamūn was buried must date between that of Akhenaten on the one hand and those of Ay and Ḥaremḥab on the other, but examination of the box revealed that both inscriptions and decoration preserve unmistakable evidence of reworking that suggests it was not originally intended for Tut'ankhamūn's use. On the photographs taken by Harry Burton during the clearance of the tomb, some few traces of the original texts can be identified. A significant alteration of the design saw the addition of wings to the female figures, but, since the characteristic symbols atop the figures' heads are accommodated by the architecture of the box, it is clear that tutelary goddesses — and not a queen as on Akhenaten's box — were part of the initial decorative programme.

All the texts on the box were altered, not just those that occupied the space needed for the addition of the wings. The reworking of the inscribed surfaces was quite competently done; it is only occasionally possible to recognize entire words. In most cases only individual hieroglyphs can be identified — *r*'s, *n*'s, *t*'s and sun discs.

Had the alterations amounted to the addition of the wings alone, then it might have been plausibly argued that the sarcophagus was both made and subsequently altered during Tut'ankhamūn's reign, but, if the texts in their original state named Tut'ankhamūn, it would not have been necessary to touch those below the torus moulding at all, since they were unaffected by the alteration of the goddesses' iconography. The same reasoning applies to the suggestion that the alterations were undertaken in conjunction with the change in the nomen from Tut'ankhaten to Tut'ankhamūn: in the texts directly below the torus moulding only the cartouches would necessarily have been affected, but these inscriptions have been completely redone. Thus it is more likely that the box was usurped for Tut'ankhamūn's use from another owner rather than begun during his reign and subsequently remodelled before his burial.

The first candidate for the original ownership of the box that comes to mind is Tut'ankhamūn's putative grandfather Amenophis III, since his box is missing.

(The lid still lies, broken in three pieces, on the floor of the burial chamber of WV 22.) But would Tut'ankhamūn have usurped the box from the one pharaoh with whom he was most eager to associate himself? The official policy of the reign emphasized Tut'ankhamūn's legitimate descent from Amenophis III, the last orthodox ruler of the dynasty prior to Akhenaten's accession, and in any case, the cartouche form and the measurements of the lid belonging to Amenophis III's sarcophagus preclude that it could ever have belonged to the box in KV 62.⁶

Another possible candidate for the original ownership of the box is Ay. Without prior knowledge of the evidence for the alterations of the box in KV 62 remarked above, Rosemarie Drenkhahn suggested that it had been commissioned by the God's Father Ay for himself during Tut'ankhamūn's lifetime. When he then became king, Ay supposedly arranged for its adaption for his predecessor's burial, usurping the granite sarcophagus Tut'ankhamūn had ordered.⁷

Since Ay was an elderly man, he presumably did order orthodox funerary equipment for himself as well as a new tomb following on the abandonment of Amarna and the return to traditional funerary practice, but there is no tangible evidence to support the hypothesis that the box in KV 62 once belonged to Ay.

It might be hypothesized that Akhenaten ordered the sarcophagus box early in his reign, to furnish a tomb at Thebes, if we presume that, as Amenophis IV, he espoused traditional funerary beliefs, but, as with Ay's claim, there is no concrete evidence that can be cited in favour of this idea, except perhaps the orientation of the goddesses at the box's corners. As noted above, all four face toward the head-end of the box, in contrast to the female figures on the three related sarcophagi. If the box in KV 62 were the first of the series, then the altered orientation, introduced by Akhenaten for the design of his Amarna sarcophagus, was adopted for the sarcophagi of Ay and Haremhab. But the two later sarcophagi are architecturally identical with the box in KV 62, incorporating the torus moulding and cavetto cornice into the design of the box, not into the lid as was the case with Akhenaten's Amarna sarcophagus. Unless an interruption in the architectural development be admitted, the sarcophagus box used for Tut'ankhamūn's burial must postdate Akhenaten's Amarna sarcophagus.

Another alternative that deserves passing mention is that the sarcophagus was ordered for a planned reburial of Akhenaten according to orthodox custom at Thebes,⁸ but, again, the sarcophagus in KV 62 itself provides no evidence in support of this suggestion.

Until evidence comes to light for a tomb or funerary equipment that can be unquestionably attributed to a woman who ruled Egypt between Akhenaten's death and Tut'ankhamūn's accession, it would be highly speculative to argue that the sarcophagus belonged to a female sovereign. It is equally improbable that it was begun for a non-ruling female member of the royal family, especially since the design of contemporaneous canopic equipment suggests that the motif of corner goddesses was reserved for the exclusive use of the ruler.⁹

Finally, there is the case to be made in favour of Smenkhkarē', Tut'ankhamūn's immediate predecessor on the throne of Egypt, as the original owner of the box. Certainly, some items among the equipment used for Tut'ankhamūn's burial were usurped from Smenkhkarē', and the suspicion arises that other objects

presumed essential for a royal burial were also appropriated from Smenkhkarē', even where direct evidence is lacking,¹⁰ since some such items were not among the furnishing of KV 55 (considered in the present context to represent Smenkhkarē's burial).

Remarking that a stone sarcophagus was not found in KV 55, Wolfgang Helck suggested that the tomb once did contain such an important piece of funerary equipment, and that it had been removed by King Ḥaremḥab, but, since there is no indication that the granite sarcophagus used for Ḥaremḥab's royal burial in KV 57 was usurped, Helck was led to propose that the monument was completely recut to leave no trace of the original decoration or texts naming Smenkhkarē'.¹¹

By contrast, the sarcophagus box used for Tut'ankhamūn's burial in KV 62 shows considerable evidence of alteration. If it had been intended for Smenkhkarē's interment, the alterations can plausibly be explained. I believe the sarcophagus was requisitioned when the burial in KV 55 was made in Tut'ankhamūn's name at the same time (as Helck, too, has noted) that the other equipment made in anticipation of Smenkhkarē's burial was also set aside — equipment subsequently used for Tut'ankhamūn.

Acceptance of the hypothesis that the sarcophagus in KV 62 was originally intended for Smenkhkarē' supplies further evidence for the return to traditional funerary beliefs during the reign of Tut'ankhamūn's predecessor, since the figures of the tutelary goddesses unequivocally identified by the symbols atop their heads were components of the sarcophagus' original design.

The texts on the lid of the sarcophagus, in contrast to those of the box, reveal no trace of alteration, and since the lid fits neatly into the rabbeted rim of the appropriated box, it must have been cut and inscribed for Tut'ankhamūn. Perhaps a quarzite lid to match the box once existed but was somehow damaged beyond repair and so abandoned, as first suggested by Howard Carter.¹²

I suspect that the lid was prepared utilizing a granite block already at Thebes only after Tut'ankhamūn's death, when arrangements were being made for his funeral. The alteration of the box could also have been accomplished during the same period. While the initial impetus for the addition of the wings to the figures may have been ideological, viz. to emphasize their divine status (as suggested to me by Christian Loeben), a practical consequence was to reduce significantly both the work required of the sculptors and the space available for inscriptions. Fewer texts had to be chosen and cut, and, in the end, those selected for the sides and foot-end of the box were kept to a minimum, not the least contributing to the satisfying aesthetic effect the sarcophagus has upon us today.

The architectural design of the sarcophagus as a shrine to house the royal mummy, with the layout of its figural decoration and its inscriptions emphasizing the head-end, is ingeniously conceived and masterfully executed. The sarcophagus can be described without reservation as a work of art, and one which surpasses by far the related monuments of Akhenaten, Ay, and Ḥaremḥab.

Notes

- * A version of this paper has been incorporated into the article 'Neue Forschung zum Schatz des Tutanchamun', along with other preliminary results of my research on objects from the tomb, that appeared in the German-language periodical *Antike Welt* 22, (1991), 97–105. My study of the sarcophagus, with detailed arguments in support of the thesis sketched here, and illustrated by Burton's photographs, will go to press shortly.
- 1 PM I, ii,² 572.
- 2 G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna I: The Objects* (ASE 35) (London, 1974), 13–30, figs. 2, 5a, pls 6–9.
- 3 PM I, ii,² 551.
- 4 PM I, ii,² 569, adding E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige* (unter Mitarbeit von F. Teichman) (Bern, 1971), 38, 49f., pls. 62–5.
- 5 O. J. Schaden, 'Clearance of the Tomb of King Ay (WV 23)', *JARCE* 21 (1984), 48–54, figs. 21–3, 30–2.
- 6 W. C. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* (Princeton, 1935), 170f.
- 7 R. Drenkhahn, 'Eine Umbettung Tutanchamuns?', *MDAIK* 39 (1983), 31–4.
- 8 For a comprehensive review of data from KV 55 that might be interpreted to support Akhenaten's secondary interment there, see Martha Bell, in *JARCE* 27 (1990), 97–137.
- 9 Cf. A. Dodson, 'Some Additional Notes on "A Fragment of Canopic Chest in Sir John Soane's Museum . . ."', *Discussions in Egyptology* 4 (1986), 27f.
- 10 Cf., e.g., my remark on two anomalous figures among the 'statuettes in shrines' in a review of F. Abitz, *Statuetten in Schreinen . . .*, in *JARCE* 20 (1983), 130.
- 11 W. Helck, 'Was geschah in KV 55?', *GM* 60 (1982), 43–6.
- 12 *Tut.anekh.Amen*, II, 50.

Zum Grab Sethos'I. in seinem ursprünglichen Zustand

E. HORNUNG

Im Oktober 1817 verbreitete sich das Gerücht in Luxor, daß ein großer Schatz im Tal der Könige entdeckt worden sei. Die Einheimischen stellten sich vor, es sei ein großer, goldener Hahn, mit Diamanten und Perlen gefüllt.¹ In Wahrheit ging es um ein neues Königsgrab, nicht mit goldenen Schätzen angefüllt, aber dafür mit bemalten Reliefs, die so frisch und leuchtend waren, als seien sie gerade erst vollendet worden.

Das neue Grab wurde sogleich als 'Belzonis Grab' bekannt, zu Ehren seines Entdeckers Giovanni Battista Belzoni. Dieser geniale und eifrige italienische Reisende aus Padua² ist auch durch die erstmalige Öffnung des großen Tempels von Abu Simbel und der Chephren-Pyramide bekannt. Im Tal der Könige entdeckte er bei seinen Arbeiten im Oktober 1817 zunächst das Prinzengrab Nr.19 mit seinen 'vollkommenen' Wandmalereien (die bis heute unveröffentlicht blieben!), dann das Grab Ramesses' I. und unmittelbar darauf das herrliche Sethos-Grab.³ Zunächst nannte er es 'Tomb of Apis', weil er in dem Vierpfeiler-Raum hinter der Sarkkammer einen einbalsamierten Stier gefunden hatte. Später, auf den Rat von Thomas Young, entschloß er sich für 'Tomb of Psammis, son of Necho' — eine Bezeichnung, die man auch bei vielen seiner Zeitgenossen findet. Daneben begegnet noch die Bezeichnung als Grab des Ousirei (so Champollion) oder von Menephtah I., bis sich seit Mariette die Verbindung mit Sethos I. durchsetzt.

Das Grab war seit seiner Entdeckung die größte Sehenswürdigkeit im Tal der Könige, unbedingtes Ziel für jeden Besucher; erst das Tutanchamun-Grab machte ihm den Rang streitig. Mit der Unterstützung von Alessandro Ricci, einem italienischen Arzt, fertigte Belzoni Kopien der Dekoration an, um dem Publikum in London durch ein Modell einen Eindruck von seiner Entdeckung zu geben. Dieses Modell, das im Sommer 1821 in der 'Egyptian Hall' (Piccadilly Circus) gezeigt wurde, scheint verloren zu sein, aber zum Glück haben sich die meisten der Vorlagen (Aquarelle) erhalten und befinden sich in Bristol.⁴

Alle frühen Besucher des Grabes sind sich einig im Preis der Schönheit und leuchtenden Farbenfrische der Dekoration. Belzoni selber preist speziell das leuchtende Weiß des Hintergrundes; Henry Salt, in dessen Auftrag Belzoni gearbeitet hat, schreibt im Jahr nach der Entdeckung in einem Brief:⁵ 'I . . . have discovered a King's tomb, where the paintings are exquisitely beautiful and fresh

as on the day they were finished,' und noch über 50 Jahre später, 1869, preist Edouard Naville die gute Erhaltung der Farben.⁶ Auch Fürst Pückler-Muskau hebt bei diesem Grab 'seine fast unglaubliche Frische' besonders hervor,⁷ nachdem er die 'Verwüstungen durch Kunstfreunde' angeprangert hat; für Bogumil Goltz (1849) sind 'alle Farben so rein und frisch, wie von gestern und heute'.⁸ Davon würde heute niemand mehr sprechen, nachdem die Farben mehr und mehr unter einer dicken Schmutz- und Staubschicht verschwinden oder an vielen Stellen durch die verschiedensten Faktoren ganz zerstört sind.

Verfall und Beschädigung haben sehr früh eingesetzt. Die erste Bedrohung des geöffneten Grabes waren die seltenen, aber heftigen Regenfälle, von denen wir schon im Dezember 1818 hören;⁹ damals drangen bei einem Unwetter Wasser und Schlamm in das Grab ein, mehrere Wände erhielten Risse oder bröckelten ab. Auch in den folgenden Jahrzehnten, bis in jüngste Zeit, kam es immer wieder zu solchen Unwettern. Als Folge muß schon Champollion feststellen, daß 'cette belle catacombe déperit chaque jour. Les piliers se fendent et se délitent; les plafonds tombent en éclats, et la peinture s'enlève en écailles'.¹⁰

Ein weiterer Hauptgrund des Verfalls waren und sind die Besucher. Es scheint, daß Belzoni selber nur den Alabastersarkophag aus dem Grabe entfernte, zusammen mit einigen losen Fragmenten. Dagegen haben schon Champollion und Rosellini (1829) gegen den heftigen Protest von Joseph Bonomi beschlossen, ganze Wandteile aus dem Grabe zu entfernen;¹¹ damals wurden die Reliefs mit dem König und Hathor am Anfang von Korridor G herausgesägt, die sich jetzt im Louvre und in Florenz befinden. Champollions Begründung war, diese kostbaren Reliefs vor den Antikenräubern zu retten, die wahllos Fragmente von den Wänden lösten; er schreibt an Bonomi: 'Rest assured, Sir, that one day you will have the pleasure of seeing some of the beautiful bas-reliefs of the tomb of Osirei in the French Museum. That will be the only way of saving them from imminent destruction and in carrying out this project I shall be acting as a real lover of antiquity, since I shall be taking them away only to preserve and not to sell'.¹² Es ist eine traurige Wahrheit, daß diese Reliefs dank ihrer Entfernung die ursprüngliche Farbenpracht noch sehr getreu bewahrt haben, da sie in den Museen besser geschützt wurden als an ihrer ursprünglichen Stelle. Allerdings verurteilt auch der Maler Hessemer, ein Freund Kestners und gleichzeitig mit Champollion in Luxor, die brutale Art, in der die Reliefs, unter Zerstörung benachbarter Wandteile, herausgelöst wurden.¹³

In noch härteren Worten prangert Fürst Pückler-Muskau, 1837 im Tal der Könige, 'die unverantwortliche Barbarei' an, 'mit der man . . . ganze Pfeiler und Gemälde zerschlug, um einen einzigen gemalten Kopf davon abzulösen; eine ganze Wand mit der kunstreichsten Hieroglyphenschrift unleserlich machte und ihren herrlichen Effekt verdarb, um sich ein paar auffallende Figuren davon herauszureißen; . . . ja mutwillig die größten Kunstwerke der Bildnerei abschabte und ablätterte, um die Natur des aufgetragenen Stucks und der Farben zu untersuchen; oder gar die bewunderungswürdigsten Gruppen, die reizendsten Gestalten wählte, um quer durch sie hindurch einen vermaledeiten Namen einzumeißeln, der mit schamloser Brutalität sich hier selbst an den Pranger stellt'.¹⁴

Nestor L'Hôte schreibt im Februar 1839, im vierten seiner Briefe aus Ägyp-

ten:¹⁵ 'J'ai entendu blâmer la manière d'agir de plusieurs Anglais qui, après avoir déblayé et dessiné les monuments, s'empressaient de les combler pour ôter à d'autres la possession des mêmes documents; une telle action dans un tel but est fort blâmable, mais on est tenté de l'admettre comme moyen de conservation, quand on voit avec quelle rapidité tout se détruit maintenant à Thèbes. Le tombeau de Ménéphthah Ier, découvert par Belzoni; les hypogées de Kournah, si neufs, si brillants encore il y a quelques années, sont à peine reconnaissables . . .'. Naville spricht 1869 von den 'spoliations qui . . . sont pratiquées maintenant en grand par les habitants de Gournah' und berichtet als Beispiel von einem neuen Loch in einer Wand, um eine Kartusche herauszulösen.¹⁶

Obwohl die Ausfuhr von Antiken 1835 ein erstes Mal verboten wurde, nahm Lepsius auf seiner Expedition weitere Wandteile für das Berliner Museum mit, dazu eine ganze Pfeilerseite (vom mittleren Pfeiler links) aus der Sargkammer. In unserem Jahrhundert geschieht die weitere Zerstörung durch Besucher eher in der Form mechanischer Abnutzung – Reiben mit Händen und Taschen, Aufwirbeln von Staub, Ausdünsten von Feuchtigkeit.

Schlimme Beschädigungen der einstigen Farbenpracht gehen auf das Konto der feuchten Abklatsche, die man im 19. Jahrhundert gerne nahm, noch dazu an den schönsten und interessantesten Stellen. Dem heutigen Besucher fallen an den Wänden überall häßliche Flecken verschiedener Größe auf, in denen die Farben vollständig fehlen oder zumindest stark beschädigt sind. Der regelmäßige Umriß verrät, was hier geschehen ist, und wer die Wilkinson Squeezes im British Museum durchsieht, findet auf der Rückseite des Papiers die originalen Farben! Man kann nur hoffen, daß es möglich wird, diese Farben auf die entsprechenden Stellen im Grabe zurück zu übertragen, und bei einer Rekonstruktion werden sie auf jeden Fall wertvolle Dienste leisten.

Die Jahre 1901 und 1902, in denen bereits Howard Carter als Inspektor der Westseite amtierte, waren besonders schlimm für das Grab. Zunächst brach im oberen Teil der Sargkammer ein großes Stück in der Mitte der Decke aus, und der mittlere Pfeiler der rechten Reihe, der nach Carters Worten bereits 'much dilapidated' war, brach vollends zusammen, 'leaving dangerous cracks and pieces hanging'. Über ein Jahr später brach ein Teil der Rückwand in der Sargkammer zusammen, riß ein Stück der bemalten Decke mit und verursachte Risse in der benachbarten linken Wand, sowie zusätzliche Beschädigungen des Einganges in die Seitenkammer N. Carter schreibt in seinem Bericht, den er 1905 in den *ASAE* 6 veröffentlichte, überdies: 'The portions of the ceilings, walls, and columns that fell broke into a myriad fragments, some of which I fear can never be properly replaced' (S.112f.).

Dank einer sofortigen Hilfe durch Sir Robert Mond konnte Carter bald mit der Restauration beginnen, wobei er zur Befestigung der Wände gebrannte Ziegel aus Armant benutzte, ebenso zur Reparatur der Pfeiler. In seinem schon erwähnten Bericht von 1905 beschreibt er den schlechten Zustand des Grabes sehr drastisch: 'The limestone rock in which it is hewn and sculptured is, though of a fine nature, very shaley and full of natural cracks which in many cases have become disintegrated from age; these parts of the surface have scaled and fallen away. This condition has not been improved by former explorers and antiquity

hunters. The painted sculptures have been defaced by making wet squeezes. The sculptured walls have been hacked indiscriminately, to gouge out cartouches as well as pretty pieces of reliefs. Parts of columns and door-jambs, which acted as supports, have been removed. The ceiling is totally blackened by smoke from torches and candles'. Und er setzt dies mit dem 'vollkommenen Zustand' in Kontrast, in welchem Belzoni das Grab entdeckte (S.112).

Weitere Konservierungsarbeiten führte A.Barsanti im März 1913 durch. Dieses Mal ging es vor allem darum, die beiden Pfeiler im Nebenraum N zu befestigen, von deren Dekoration nicht mehr viel übrig war. Am Ende seines kurzen Berichtes¹⁷ schreibt Barsanti: 'Il sera nécessaire de reviser complètement ce tombeau, qui n'est pas sans souffrir de la visite perpétuelle des touristes'.

Als Harry Burton, der Feldphotograph des Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1921 mit der photographischen Aufnahme des Grabes begann, war der Zustand etwa so, wie Carter ihn beschrieben hatte. In mehrjähriger Arbeit, die er parallel zu seiner Aufnahme des gesamten Tutanchamun-Schatzes leistete, schuf Burton eine vollständige Dokumentation des Grabes, natürlich ohne diejenigen Teile, die schon vorher entfernt worden waren. Als Schwarzweiß-Dokumentation sind seine Aufnahmen an Qualität nicht zu übertreffen, und farbige Wiedergaben sind vor einer gründlichen Reinigung des Grabes wenig sinnvoll. Ich habe mit den Abzügen, die im Chicago House in Luxor archiviert sind, für meine Texteditionen gearbeitet, aber dieses wertvolle Material sollte unbedingt auch veröffentlicht werden. Dank der Hilfe durch das Metropolitan Museum of Art, das dafür neue Abzüge herstellte, ist die Veröffentlichung jetzt gesichert, und der Band soll im Frühjahr 1991 im Artemis-Verlag in Zürich erscheinen, mit einer zweisprachigen (englisch/deutschen) Einleitung und kurzen Beschreibung des Grabes, sowie einem Kapitel von Marsha Hill über das Leben und die Arbeiten von Harry Burton.

Die Publikation der Burton-Photographien bedeutet den ersten Schritt zu einer vollständigen Dokumentation des Sethos-Grabes in der Gestalt, wie es von Belzoni entdeckt wurde. Die Wunden, die ihm in über 170 Jahren zugefügt wurden, sind nicht zu heilen und treten bereits bei Burton schmerzlich hervor. Aber was möglich erscheint, ist eine Rekonstruktion in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt — sei es in gedruckter Form oder durch einen ergänzten Neubau des Grabes in Theben-West oder am besten durch beides.

Was die alten Kopien möglich machen, durfte ich bei der Arbeit an einer neuen Edition des Imy-Duat erfahren, die alle erhaltenen Versionen des Neuen Reiches vollständig erfaßt.¹⁸ Der Anfang der rechten Wand im dritten Korridor ist heute weitgehend zerstört. Dort stand ursprünglich eine dritte Fassung vom Schlußtext zur dritten Nachtstunde, neben den beiden Fassungen, die im zweiten Korridor unter den Figuren der Sonnenlitanei angebracht sind. Die Aquarelle, die Belzoni im Grabe angefertigt hat, geben die Wände des dritten Korridors, auch dieses Textstück am Anfang, nahezu vollständig. Und obgleich seine Hieroglyphen etwas seltsame Formen aufweisen, kann man fast immer erkennen, was sie meinen; ohne ein Zeichen lesen zu können, hat Belzoni erstaunlich korrekte Textkopien hergestellt, die eine Rekonstruktion der heute zerstörten Partien erlauben. Wenn dies bei den Texten möglich ist, dann erst recht bei den Darstellungen, die Belzoni noch vollständig gesehen und kopiert hat!

Als Beispiel wählen wir die Seitenkammer N, welche im oberen Teil der Wände drei Nachtstunden (die sechste bis achte) aus dem *Imy-Duat* enthält, im unteren, bankförmig vorspringenden Teil Betten, Schreine und andere Teile der Grabausstattung; dazu kommt eine Reihe von ganz ungewöhnlichen Szenen auf den beiden Pfeilern. Während das *Imy-Duat* nur durch Abklatsche gelitten hat, sind die Pfeilerseiten und die Bilder der Grabbeigaben sehr stark beschädigt und zu einem großen Teil ganz verschwunden. Wieder helfen uns hier die Belzoni Drawings, auf denen wir z.B. die Prunkbetten, die denen im Grabschatz Tutanchamuns entsprechen, noch vollständig erkennen, sogar mit weiteren Beigaben darunter. Ebenso ist der König im Ruderlauf, eine für das Tal der Könige singuläre Szene, die sich auf dem linken Pfeiler gegenüber dem Eingang befand, nur in den Belzoni Drawings und in den Zeichnungen von Hay erhalten (sie fehlt auch in der Neuauflage von Porter-Moss). Für den personifizierten Djed-Pfeiler auf dem rechten Pfeiler (Seite Bd) besitzen wir außer dem vollständigen Aquarell von Belzoni noch ein angefangenes von Robert Hay. So können alle acht Pfeilerseiten in diesem Raum problemlos rekonstruiert werden.

Den Vorraum (I) vor der Sargkammer nannte Belzoni wegen seiner besonders schönen Reliefs 'The Hall of Beauties'. Heute sind die Wände praktisch farblos, und man kann nur noch die Feinheit des Reliefs bewundern. Hier haben die Abklatsche ihre Spuren hinterlassen, aber wieder wird die ursprüngliche Farbigkeit durch Belzonis Aquarelle dokumentiert, dazu durch ein weiteres Aquarell von Henry Salt, das sich mit den übrigen Salt Watercolours im British Museum befindet.¹⁹

Weitere schlagende Beispiele für den Zustand 'Einst und Jetzt' habe ich in meinem *Tal der Könige* dokumentiert. Eines ist die Himmelskuh in der Seitenkammer M, die in ihrer ursprünglichen, leuchtend gelben (d.h.: goldenen) Farbigkeit in Aquarellen von Hay und von Salt erhalten blieb, während sie heute, nach Abklatschen und der Berührung durch Tausende von Besuchern, ihre ganze Farbigkeit verloren hat und nur noch fettig glänzt. Noch trauriger ist der jetzige Zustand der berühmten Szene mit den vier Menschenrassen aus der fünften Nachtstunde des Pfortenbuches in der Oberen Pfeilerhalle (linke Eingangswand, mit Fortsetzung auf der linken Wand). Viele Besucher aus der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts haben diese Szene in tadellosem Zustand kopiert, während jetzt nicht nur die Farben, sondern auch das Relief schwer beschädigt sind, manche der Figuren sind vollständig oder nahezu vollständig zerstört, und der moderne Besucher geht an dem einstmals so auffälligen Motiv achtlos vorbei.

Einige wenige Teile der Dekoration waren bereits zerstört, als Belzoni das Grab entdeckte. Die größte Beschädigung traf er auf der linken Seite der Rückwand in der Sargkammer, hier geben bereits seine Aquarelle eine freie Fläche; wahrscheinlich hatten die alten Grabräuber versucht, hier zu weiteren, hinter der Sargkammer vermuteten Schatzkammern vorzustoßen. Mindestens zum Teil muß auch der mittlere Pfeiler der rechten Reihe im oberen Teil der Sargkammer (der heute vollständig fehlt) bereits zerstört gewesen sein, und weitere Zerstörungen fand er im Nebenraum F der Oberen Pfeilerhalle, wo die Grabräuber ebenfalls gewaltsam nach einer Fortsetzung des Grabes gesucht hatten.

Natürlich war auch die zugemauerte und bemalte Rückwand des Schachtrau-

mes (D) nicht mehr intakt — Belzoni fand ja noch die Seile, mit deren Hilfe die Grabräuber den Schacht überquert hatten,²⁰ und auch die offizielle Kommission, welche die Königsmumie aus dem Grab entfernte, mußte diesen Weg benutzen. Belzoni spricht in seinem Bericht von einer kleinen Öffnung, die er in der Rückwand antraf, etwa 60 cm breit und 75 cm hoch, durch die er sich mit Beechey in die Obere Pfeilerhalle zwängte. Den Rest der aufgemauerten Fläche, die den Schacht abschloß, hat er vermutlich selber niedergelegt, um bequemeren Zugang zu haben; leider hat er die Reste der Malerei, die er noch antraf, nicht dokumentiert.

Alle diese Partien können nicht nach alten Kopien rekonstruiert werden, sondern nur durch Analogie zu anderen Szenen in diesem oder in anderen Königsgräbern. Aber sie können rekonstruiert werden, und das gilt auch für die Farben im ersten Korridor. Champollion sah noch einige Farbreste in der Eingangsszene, die den König vor dem Sonnengott zeigt, aber im übrigen bleiben wir auf Analogie angewiesen, denn die Szenen und Texte des ersten Korridors sind vor allem im Grabe des Enkels von Sethos, Merenptah, noch in ihrer Farbenpracht erhalten.²¹ Dazu können wir bei den Texten von der Tatsache profitieren, daß für die Bemalung der Hieroglyphen feste Konventionen galten, eine Art Farbkanon, den Elisabeth Staehelin weitgehend wiederherstellen konnte; für meine Edition *Zwei ramesidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV. und Ramses VII* (Mainz, 1990) hat sie ein Kapitel über die Hieroglyphenfarben beigetragen, in dem die Grundzüge der Farbgebung besprochen werden. Mit diesem Hilfsmittel ist es möglich, auch allen Texten der Sonnenlitanei wieder ihre ursprüngliche Farbigkeit zurückzugeben!

Auch die Geierdecke im ersten Korridor bietet noch genug Reste, um ihr ursprüngliches Aussehen wiederherzustellen. Dabei haben die geflügelten Schutzwesen, was Lefébure in seiner Zeichnung nicht berücksichtigt, aber auf den Photographien von Burton deutlich ist, abwechselnd Geier- und Schlangenkopf. Probleme gibt es nur bei den beiden Schriftbändern, welche die Flügelwesen einrahmen, da diese Zeilen in allen Gräbern stark beschädigt sind. Aber insgesamt können wir sogar über Belzoni hinausgehen und das Grab so dokumentieren, wie es nach dem Begräbnis von Sethos I. ausgesehen hat!

Insgesamt stehen uns für eine Rekonstruktion des Sethos-Grabes, wie es einst gewesen ist, ausreichend Hilfsmittel zur Verfügung. Wir planen, nach der Schwarzweiß-Dokumentation des jetzigen Zustands durch die Photographien von Harry Burton, einen weiteren Band zu erarbeiten, der das ganze Grab in Zeichnungen rekonstruiert und dabei die alten Kopien, ob Zeichnungen, Aquarelle oder Abklatsche, mit berücksichtigt. Wieviel wir dort auch in Farbe dokumentieren können, ist primär eine finanzielle Frage. Jede Szene der Dekoration erhält zusätzlich einen ausführlichen Kommentar über ihre Erhaltung, Ergänzung und religiöse Bedeutung, wobei auch Parallelen aus anderen Gräbern herangezogen werden.

Diese Dokumentation des einstigen Zustands geschieht in enger Zusammenarbeit mit dem Center of Documentation in Kairo und seinem Direktor Dr. Abdel-Aziz Sadek. Seit den jüngsten Beschädigungen 1988 arbeitet das Center im Grab, hat in den unteren Räumen neue Photographien aufgenommen und wird auf dieser Basis Zeichnungen herstellen, die wir für unsere Rekonstruktion verwenden

können. Schon bei früherer Gelegenheit haben wir alle Zeichnungen Lefébures vor den Originalen verglichen und verbessert, und die bisherigen Texteditionen (*Imy-Duat*, *Sonnenlitanei*, *Pfortenbuch* und *Buch von der Himmelskuh*) beruhen auf kollationierten Abschriften und der Ergänzung durch ältere Kopien.

Von den Fragmenten der Dekoration, die über Museen in aller Welt verstreut sind, sprachen wir bereits und erwähnten dabei London, Paris, Florenz und Berlin; aber auch im Museum of Fine Arts in Boston befindet sich eine Serie von winzigen Fragmenten (z.B. vom Horn des widderköpfigen Anubis!), die zum Teil noch zugeordnet werden müssen. Ebenso verstreut sind auch Teile der ursprünglichen Grabausstattung: Uschebti von Sethos I. befinden sich in zahlreichen Museen und in einigen privaten Sammlungen.

Insgesamt kann unsere Rekonstruktion aufbauen auf einer vollständigen Dokumentation des gegenwärtigen Zustandes durch Textabschriften, Photographien und nach Möglichkeit Zeichnungen, auf den Photographien von Harry Burton, auf älteren Zeichnungen, Aquarellen und Abklatschen, auf Fragmenten, die aus dem Grabe entfernt wurden, und auf Parallelen zu entsprechenden Darstellungen oder Texten in anderen Gräbern. Hoffen wir, daß neben der Rekonstruktion auf dem Papier auch der geplante Nachbau dieses und anderer Gräber realisiert werden kann, damit das Sethos-Grab in seiner einstigen Vollständigkeit, Schönheit und Farbenfrische aufs neue ersteht!

Notes

- 1 Nach dem Bericht des Ausgräbers G. B. Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia* (London, 1820), deutsche Übersetzung von I. Nowel, *G. Belzoni. Entdeckungsreisen in Ägypten 1815–1819. In den Pyramiden, Tempeln und Gräbern am Nil* (Köln (DuMont) 1982), dort S. 167. Die Beschreibung der Entdeckung auch bei Mayes, *Belzoni* (Anm. 2), S. 179–188.
- 2 Grundlegend die Biographie von St. Mayes, *The Great Belzoni* (London, 1959); ferner: S. Curto, *G. B. Belzoni archeologo dell'Egitto antico* (Padua, 1982).
- 3 Zum Termin der Entdeckung siehe V. Loret, *Sphinx* 6 (1902), 97–99. Die Arbeiten begannen am 6.10., KV 19 wurde am 9.10. und Ramesses I. am Tag darauf entdeckt, Sethos I. am 17.10.1817.
- 4 Mit der freundlichen Hilfe der Kuratoren L. V. Grinsell und N. Thomas durften E. Staehelin und ich diese wertvolle Dokumentation im City Museum and Art Gallery in Bristol einsehen und photographieren; weitere Aufnahmen verdanken wir F. Abitz. Proben der Aquarelle, auch der von Burton und Hay, habe ich in *Tal der Könige* abgebildet (Anm. 21). Zur Ausstellung in London, die in verkürzter Form auch in Paris gezeigt wurde, siehe E. Henrotin, *CdE* 48 (1973), 267 f.
- 5 Zitiert nach Mayes, *Belzoni*, S. 173.
- 6 D. van Berchem, *L'Égyptologue genevois Edouard Naville* (Genf, 1989), S. 88 ('dont les couleurs sont fort bien conservées').
- 7 Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, *Aus Mehemed Alis Reich* (Ausgabe Zürich (Manesse), 1985), S. 359.
- 8 B. Goltz, *Ein Kleinstädter in Aegypten* (Berlin, 1853), S. 412.
- 9 In Belzonis Originalbericht. Zu weiteren Schäden durch heftige Regenfälle um 1830 vgl. B. Bell, *AJA* 79 (1975), 247.

- 10 *Lettres écrites d’Egypte et de Nubie en 1828 et 1829*, im 13. Brief vom 26.5.1829, S. 204 der Ausgabe Paris 1868. In seiner Beschreibung des Grabes *Notices descriptives*, I, S. 436 erwähnt er, der mittlere Pfeiler der rechten Reihe in der Sargkammer sei ‘détruit presque en entier’. Trotzdem berichtet er in einem P.S. zum 12. Brief von einem ‘fête dans une des plus jolies salles du tombeau d’Ousireï’, das er seinen Gefährten als Ausgleich für die Entbehrungen gab, die sie am 2. Katarakt erdulden mußten; vermutlich feierten sie in der oberen Pfeilerhalle mit ihrem Annex.
- 11 Dazu S. Tillett, *Egypt Itself. The Career of Robert Hay . . .* (London, 1984), S. 46 f.
- 12 Zitiert nach Mayes, *Belzoni*, S. 293.
- 13 *August Kestner und seine Zeit 1777–1853*, zusammengestellt von M. Jorns (Hannover, 1964), S. 213 f.
- 14 *Aus Mehemed Alis Reich* (Anm. 7), S. 354 f. In der Erstausgabe Stuttgart 1844 auf S. 184 f. in Teil II.
- 15 *Lettres écrites d’Egypte en 1838 et 1839* (Paris, 1840), S. 92.
- 16 D. van Berchem, *Naville* (Anm. 6), S. 88.
- 17 *ASAE* 18 (1919), 12. Zur Installation der elektrischen Beleuchtung im Frühjahr 1902, durch welche wenigstens die Schwärzung der Decken und Wände beendet wurde, vgl. H. Carter, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 43.
- 18 E. Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, Teil I (Genf, 1987), Teil II in Vorbereitung (*Aegyptiaca Helvetica*, 13).
- 19 Zu diesen siehe M. L. Bierbrier, *GM* 61 (1983), 9 f.
- 20 Eines der Seile aus Halfagras blieb erhalten und befindet sich im Brit. Museum, dazu D. P. Ryan, ‘Belzoni’s rope from the tomb of Sethos I’, in: *Akten des 4. Internat. Ägyptologenkongresses München 1985*, Band 2 (Hamburg, 1989), S. 137–142 mit Taf. 34, 2.
- 21 Farbig abgebildet bei E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige* (Zürich, und München, 1982) (5. Aufl. 1990), S. 111 Abb. 76 f., jetzt auch in: *Les Dossiers d’Archéologie* 149/150 (1990), 47.

The Theban Mapping Project and Work in KV 5

KENT R. WEEKS

I. History of the Project

No area of the world contains as many famous and important archaeological monuments as the West Bank of the Nile at Luxor. For 250,000 years or more, man has lived here in western Thebes, and this 10–15 sq. km district is filled with his remains. The Valley of the Kings, Valley of the Queens, Deir el-Bahri, the Tombs of the Nobles, Medinet Habu, the Ramesseum — they are all here, as are dozens of Palaeolithic work stations, ancient villages, Roman shrines, and Coptic monasteries. They range from some of the largest stone monuments ever built by man, and the most elegantly decorated tombs, to humble mud huts and crudely-carved graffiti. Millions of tourists and scholars have visited these sites during the past 3,000 years. No archaeological site is more famous. Yet, today, only a handful of these monuments has been even cursorily studied, even fewer of them published. And, if my colleagues are correct, many will disappear in the next two centuries. They will be the victims of pollution, water and wind erosion, the pressures of tourism, theft, and vandalism.¹ Some will vanish within the next generation, and already we are witnessing their collapse: elegantly decorated walls seen a decade ago have crumbled to dust; water-logged foundations can no longer support their ancient walls; ancient tombs have been crushed and buried beneath layers of asphalt and mounds of refuse. Nowhere are these pressures more keenly felt than in the Valley of the Kings. Yet, in spite of centuries-old interest in this royal necropolis, no systematic survey of its topography and its contents has ever been made.²

The Theban Mapping Project was established in 1978 to prepare such a survey, not just of the Valley of the Kings (where much of its work has been concentrated) but of the entire Theban Necropolis.³ It has had several interrelated goals.⁴

The Project has flown photogrammetric surveys in order to compile stereoscopic aerial photographs of the Necropolis, one flight at 500 m, one at 1,000 m. Of great value in their own right for archaeological surveys, development planning, and architectural studies, the photos served as the basis for compiling topographical maps of the Necropolis at a smaller scale than hitherto available. Contour

maps of the Necropolis at 1:500 with 1 m contour intervals and a shaded relief map of the entire West Bank at 1:2500 have already been prepared. In addition, using hot-air balloons, the Project has taken oblique aerial photographs of the principal archaeological features in the Necropolis, at elevations ranging from 5 m to 2,000 m. The balloons also were used for the exploration of the many crevices in the cliffs that line the intricate wadi systems of the West Bank hills. A hermitage and several other sites of archaeological and historical interest have been identified by this means.⁵

Using the principal axis of the Temple of Amūn at Karnak as its base line, the Project established an XYZ coordinate grid over the Necropolis, monumented it, and set precise grid references for all archaeological features.⁶ The monumenting is now completed generally over the Necropolis, and in great detail in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens. It will make it possible for future field workers to tie their work into an exact and permanent three-dimensional system of reference, and to describe with precision the location of topographical features, ancient structures, and architectural details. Since all our work in the Necropolis is done in terms of these XYZ coordinates, the precise relationship between any two points, above ground or below, can readily be determined. The accuracy of this grid network is one part in 64,000.

The Project has prepared detailed architectural plans at a scale of 1:100 of all accessible tombs in the Valley of the Kings. The same XYZ data on which these plans and surveys are based are also being used to produce computer-generated, three-dimensional views of the tombs and their geographical environment. The program used is one that not only permits individual tombs to be drawn in great detail, but allows several tombs to be shown simultaneously and with great accuracy. Such isometric views will help us to trace the development of the Valley of the Kings typologically, geographically, and chronologically.

The Project has also made use of several techniques of geophysical surveying, as well as of more traditional archaeological surveying techniques, to relocate tombs that have been 'lost' over the past few centuries. We believe that it is important to relocate such tombs and to include them on our maps: some of them are thought to lie in areas where developments such as roads, parking areas, and rest houses are planned. Three such 'lost' tombs have so far been recovered; one of them, KV 5, is the subject of the next section of this report.

Financial constraints permitting, it is planned to have the final publication of the Theban *Atlas* volume covering the Valley of the Kings in the hands of the printer within the next several months. All work for that volume is now completed.⁷

In addition, we hope to publish a laser-disc version of the *Atlas* so that the many advantages to be gained by actually rotating three-dimensional images into different viewing positions and detailing elements of their design on a screen can be enjoyed by *Atlas* users as well as by the *Atlas* designers.

II. KV 5: Historical Background

On day 27 of the third month of summer in 1279 BC, Ramesses II was crowned King of Upper and Lower Egypt and succeeded his father, Sethos I, as sole ruler of the Two Lands.⁸ Shortly after, probably during the Nile flood in mid-August, he travelled to Thebes from his palace in the eastern Delta for a series of religious ceremonies confirming his accession and for the burial of his father in the Valley of the Kings. During this visit to the Valley, Ramesses II may also have inspected the site at which his own tomb would be dug, at the base of a sloping hillside immediately beside the narrow entrance to the Valley. Ramesses II would not be buried in that tomb for another sixty-seven years, but very shortly he would have to order work on another tomb in the Valley, only a few metres away from his own, in which he would inter his first-born sons.

Ramesses II had at least eight wives during his lifetime, and almost certainly he was married to his two principal queens, Nefertary and Isetnofret, prior to his accession. Nefertary bore him a son at about the time of his coronation. If not his first-born, then the first to survive beyond infancy, he was called Amen-her-wenemef, 'Amūn is at his right side'. But, for unknown reasons, that name was changed to Amen-her-khepeshef, 'Amūn is at his strong arm,' perhaps in the first year of his father's reign. In his youth, the prince accompanied his father on several military expeditions to Nubia and western Asia. He was being groomed one day to assume the throne, and early in his father's reign he was granted the important title 'General-in-Chief of the Army' and declared the heir apparent. He did not live to succeed his father, however: Amen-her-khepeshef died some time before the twentieth year of his father's reign. He was still a very young man.

Nefertary bore other sons to Ramesses II in the early years of his reign. Most of them also died young. Those who did survive were apparently not old enough to succeed Amen-her-khepeshef as heir apparent, and the title therefore passed to the first-born son of Isetnofret, Ramesses II's second principal wife. That son was by then a young man, perhaps the same age as Amen-her-khepeshef would have been, and he was called Ramesses.

Like his half-brother, Ramesses had already accompanied his father on several military campaigns, assumed a number of important titles, and taken an active role in court life, but he, too, died prematurely, probably around 1260 BC, and he was followed as the heir apparent in his father's twentieth year of rule by his full brother, Khaemwese. Khaemwese did survive for several years, ably filling several major posts, including that of High Priest of Ptah at Memphis. When he, too, predeceased his father in the 55th year of his father's reign, he was perhaps buried at Saqqāra.

Ramesses II continued as pharaoh for another twelve years after Khaemwese's death. When finally he died, in the sixty-seventh year of his reign, he had outlived twelve of his reputed eighty sons. It was his thirteenth son, Merenptah, born of Isetnofret, the fifth son to have been made heir apparent to the throne, who finally succeeded him as King of Upper and Lower Egypt in 1213 BC.

Ramesses II was buried in the Valley of the Kings, tomb KV 7; Merenptah

was buried in KV 8. Nefertary, who had died in c. 1255 BC, had already been interred in the Valley of the Queens (tomb QV 66); Isetnofret perhaps was buried there, too, about 1246 BC, but her tomb has not yet been identified. Khaemwese was perhaps buried at Saqqāra.

But what of the other eleven eldest sons of Ramesses II, a list including four other heirs apparent? Where were they buried? Surely, the important and adored children of so powerful a pharaoh would have had burials of quality. Until only recently, however, the location of those burials had not been found.

Clearing conducted by us during the past two years of a tomb at the entrance to the Valley of the Kings — a tomb known today as KV 5 — has revealed that it was the burial place of at least two of the eldest sons of Ramesses II, Amen-her-khepeshef and Ramesses. It is likely that the names of other sons also will be found there.

III. KV 5 Since the Reign of Ramesses II

During the reign of Ramesses III, perhaps half a century after the death of Ramesses II, several workmen at Thebes were arrested and charged with violating tombs in the Valley of the Kings. A papyrus now in the Turin Museum has preserved a record of testimony given at the subsequent proceedings:⁹

Now, Usiḥe and Patwere have stripped stones from above the tomb of Osiris King (Ramesses II), the great god. . . . The chief artisan Peneb, my father, caused men to take off stones therefrom. [He has done] exactly the same. And Kenena the son of Ruta did it in this same manner above the tomb of the royal children of Osiris King (Ramesses II), the great god. Let me see what you will do to them, or I will make complaint to pharaoh my lord and likewise to the vizier my superior.

Because of the context in which these statements occur, Egyptologists have argued that the ‘tomb of the Royal Children’ must refer to a tomb that lay quite close to the tomb of Ramesses II himself. His tomb, KV 7, lies immediately west of the entrance of the Valley of the Kings. The only tomb in the immediate vicinity of KV 7 to which the statement might refer is the one, numbered KV 5, that lies about 40 m to its northeast, dug into the base of a rocky slope east of the modern parking area at the Valley entrance. It was James Burton who first noticed the name of Ramesses II carved on the entrance jamb of KV 5, and Lepsius who first suggested that the tomb might originally have been carved for that pharaoh. But, as Elizabeth Thomas notes, that ‘is impossible in view of its marked divergence from preceding royal tombs and from that in which he was presumably buried . . . it is likely that the tomb . . . was meant for more than one member of his family. His numerous sons suggest themselves most readily. . .’.¹⁰ This attribution can now be shown to be correct.

KV 5 has been known for some time, although its entrance has been hidden by debris for over seventy years. There is some evidence that it was visited — albeit very infrequently — by Late Dynastic and early Christian travellers, and its entrance was seen by the French about 1799 and by several nineteenth-century

travellers, most notably Burton, Lane, Lepsius, and Wilkinson.¹¹ Lane described the entrance:¹²

Situated quite at the base of the hill and entrance concealed by the rubbish taken out. Entrance narrow. Passage has been quite filled up by rubbish washed in by rains and by frag. of stone which [have?] fallen in consequence of the damp on such occasions; but a way has been cut thro this mass, leaving part all along to support the loosened masses of rock above. Impossible to trace any plan or order. Dirn. SE.

It was Burton who first described its interior, and who left the only (incomplete) plan of its initial chambers:¹³

This tomb is all in a state of ruin. On the ceiling alone which has in general fallen in vast masses are to be seen some small remains here and there of colouring — the substance of the rock between the small chambers and the large ones above cannot be more than 18 inches. Being full of mud and earth the descent from the pillared room to those underneath is not perceptible. The Catacomb must have been excavated very low in the valley or the valley much raised by the accumulation of earth stones and rubbish brought down by rains. I found a large piece of the breccia verd'antico, evidence of those quarries having been used in this king's time and of some sarcophagus having been in the tomb of this material. It is possible there is some passage leading from below the centre of the pillared chamber into that where the sarcophagus stood.

And it was Wilkinson who saw at least traces of the tomb's entrance and who assigned to it the number KV 5.¹⁴

During 1987 and 1988 the Theban Mapping Project was able to relocate KV 5 by means of geophysical surveys and simple clearing operations. These have been described in some detail in previous reports.¹⁵ The tomb entrance had been completely buried by debris dumped here from excavations elsewhere or fallen from the hillside and had been hidden for the past seventy or eighty years. Its innermost chambers have been inaccessible for much longer than that. Indeed, the interior of the tomb has been visited during only four brief periods since the last Ramesside son was interred here: in the Twentieth Dynasty by tomb robbers; in the Late Period and early Christian times by travellers; in the nineteenth century by such European explorers as Burton, Lane, Lepsius, and Wilkinson; and in the twentieth century by workmen of Howard Carter, and by us. There are no traces of any other intrusions.

Knowledge of the general location of KV 5 has never been completely lost, however. Carter, for example, knew its location (he partially cleared its entrance in 1902, then reburied it); it is also shown (approximately) on the Survey of Egypt maps printed in 1925; and it appears even in standard guide books (with varying degrees of accuracy). Our surveys and clearing operations merely pinpointed the entrance more precisely. (As we mentioned in a previous report, initial magnetometer passes over the hillside had first spotted one of the chambers of KV 5, not its entrance. Consequently, we had to extend our area of clearing several metres to the south before the doorway was visible. Geophysical equipment locates 'anomalies', not tomb entrances.)

When we did uncover the narrow pit in which a staircase and tomb entrance had been cut, we found that both the asphalt paving of a modern parking area and the sewer line from the Valley of the Kings Rest House to a septic tank

several hundred metres down slope had inadvertently been laid over it about twenty-five years ago. When we removed a portion of the debris blocking the tomb's doorway, we were met by a rush of hot, moist air, the result of leaks in the sewer pipe. This moisture had caused significant deterioration of the wall surfaces, and indicated that the clearing of the initial chambers would have to be accompanied by a slow and especially meticulous process of cleaning, conservation, and recording.

Our clearing of the first chamber — which, by the autumn of 1989, our most recent season, was about 75% completed — confirmed that the tomb had suffered badly. The most substantial damage was done to the first two chambers by the leaking sewer pipe and by the vibrations of heavy bus traffic in the vicinity of the tomb entrance. (These recent problems, fortunately, are now being slowed by the EAO's decision to ban heavy traffic from the roadway and to move the Valley Rest House several hundred metres down valley from the KV 5 entrance.) But there also was damage from a longer-term problem: flash floods, to which the Valley of the Kings has been subjected every two centuries or so, have washed large quantities of silts (and even large stones) down gebel slopes, hurtling them into any low-lying tomb entrances in their path. Burton commented on the deep, waterborne fill with which KV 5 was packed, and Lane referred to large areas of the ceiling that had collapsed into the chambers, in part because of this flooding.

Crawling beyond the first chamber, along the narrow channel first mentioned by Lane, we were able to reach the great sixteen-pillared hall shown by Burton in his sketch and to make some alterations to his rough plan. So much stone had fallen from the ceiling in the first two chambers, however, and so small was the crawl space through which we had to move, that it was impossible for us to make a more detailed plan at that time. Indeed, the air in the tomb on this first look-see was so bad that we were able to remain inside the tomb for only a few minutes before we had to return to the entrance. When we left the tomb, we blocked the doorway with stones, not sand, so that interior air quality could slowly improve before we conducted further work. Six months later, we returned to KV 5 with a small work force and cleared small areas of the walls in the first chamber in order to determine the procedures that would be needed to clear, clean, conserve, and record any decoration that remained. In fact, there were wall surfaces on which a surprisingly large amount of carved relief and paint was still preserved. In the two years since then we have returned twice, exposing further wall areas, treating them, allowing them to rest, then checking their condition before proceeding further. We also have begun to make scale drawings of the stabilized walls in Chamber 1 and have made an architectural plan of the accessible parts of the tombs.

IV: The Stratigraphy of Chamber 1

The debris that fills KV 5 displays a complex stratigraphy. Unravelling the story that it tells required an especially slow process of excavation in Chamber 1; the results of its study are of sufficient interest to merit detailed discussion. The first

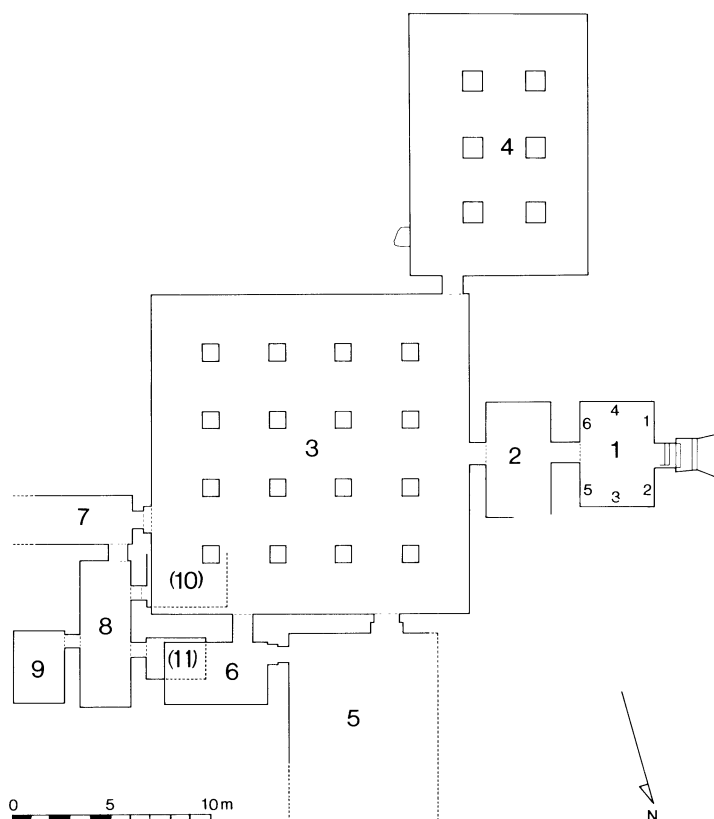


FIGURE 9 Plan of the known chambers of KV 5.

chamber of KV 5 — the only one so far studied by us — is filled with several strata of material. Together, these strata comprise nearly 3 m of waterborne debris, dumped materials, and fallen blocks that fill the chamber to within a few centimetres of its ceiling. The strata do not, however, speak of a regular and continuous history. Rather, they tell of seven major phases in this process of deposition, each quite different from the others:

Phase 1

Eighteenth Dynasty. Neither stratigraphical nor epigraphical evidence of this period has yet been found in KV 5, but the tomb's location, type, and dimensions suggest that it was originally built prior to the reign of Ramesses II, most probably during the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty:

A. *Location.* The fact that KV 5 was cut at the base of a fairly gentle hillslope at the entrance to the Valley does not in itself permit a precise date for its cutting, but it significantly narrows the options. Look, for example, at the distribution of

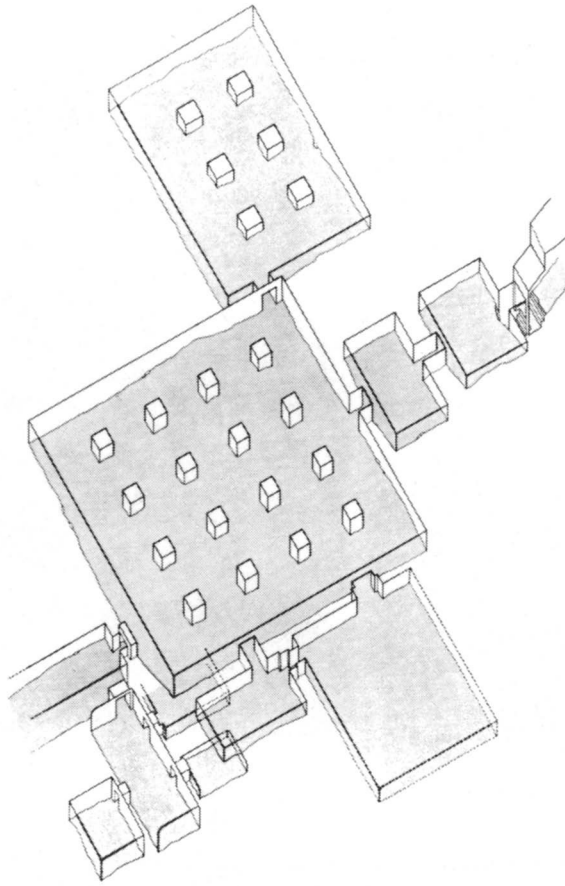


FIGURE 10 Axonometric drawing of accessible chambers in KV 5.

tombs of the late Eighteenth Dynasty in the Valley: KV 5 lies in the one small area of the East Valley in which tombs of that period are to be found. Entrances to KV 46 (Yuia and Tjuia), 55 (unknown), and 62 (Tut'ankhamūn) together occupy a narrow strip only 150 m long and 20 m wide; KV 5 lies midway along this strip. Each of these tombs lies at the very bottom of a slope, its entrance cut directly into the Valley floor.¹⁶ The only other tombs known in this area (or immediately adjacent to it) are of the Ramesside period: KV 2, 3, 6, and 7 (Ramesses IV, III, IX, and II.) Elizabeth Thomas saw this: 'by situation and location, between KV 46 and 55, [it] is possible [to date KV 5 to] the end of Dyn. 18, as well as [to] the reign of Ramesses II. . . .'¹⁷

B. *Typology.* Unlike the long, syringe-like tombs of the Ramesside kings, KV 5 apparently consists of several 'suites' of chambers that lead off a large sixteen-pillared central hall.¹⁸ There are no tombs in the Valley of the Kings whose plans are remotely like that of KV 5 and, indeed, few tombs anywhere in Egypt that are even superficially similar. A search for other examples of its unusual attributes — a large hall cut with a dozen or more supporting pillars;

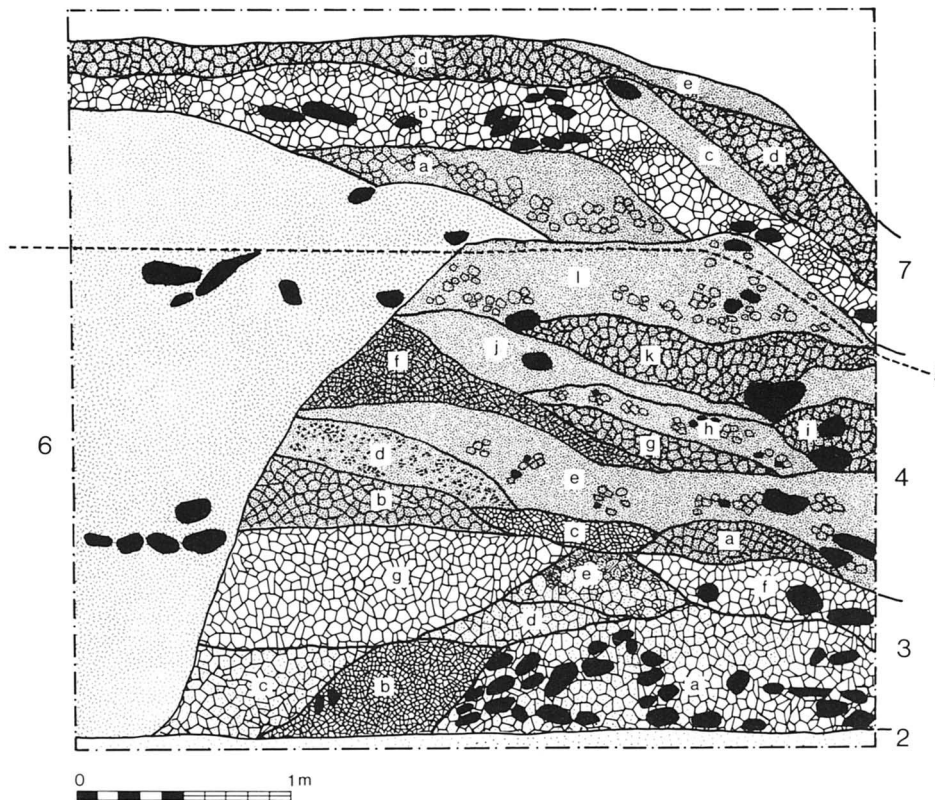


FIGURE 11 KV 5, Chamber 1, stratigraphic profile, looking N (toward wall 3), drawn on central axis. Numbers refer to phases (see text). (Weeks, KV 5)

passageways curving counterclockwise that lead down to a number of ‘mortuary apartments’; multiple examples of rooms with vaulted ceilings — produce few results. The most nearly similar are such private tombs at Thebes as Raʿmose (TT 55) and Kheruef (TT 192). Both date to the reigns of Amenophis III–IV.¹⁹ A few of these attributes are also shared by tombs at el-ʿAmarna (e.g., the tombs of Mahu [tomb 9], that of Paneḥesy, and the royal tomb);²⁰ at Saqqāra (the Serapeum during the Nineteenth Dynasty);²¹ and at Thebes (e.g., Ḳenamūn [TT 93]).²² But, to my knowledge, there are no parallels closer than these. (It is also worth noting that KV tombs whose entrances lead directly into rooms rather than into corridors are believed by Elizabeth Thomas all to be of late Eighteenth Dynasty date. KV examples of such tombs include WV A and KV 5, 12, 27, and 28.)²³

C. Dimensions. One of the results of the Theban Mapping Project will be the tabulation of a complete set of KV tomb dimensions and proportions, data that should help us more accurately to assign relative dates to tombs on typological grounds. Even at this stage, however, before KV 5 is more completely excavated, one measurement is available that clearly suggests a pre-Ramesside date for the

initial cutting of the tomb: the entrance gates of Eighteenth Dynasty KV tombs are never more than 1.80 m wide; the entrance gates of Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty KV tombs are never less than that — indeed, they are almost invariably more than 2.10 m wide. The width of the entrance gate of KV 5 is approximately 1.20 m, a figure that fits well in the Eighteenth Dynasty series.²⁴ (Tombs at el-ʿAmarna have gate widths that vary from 100 to 140 cm; the mean is about 110 cm.)²⁵

Table 1. Approximate Width of Initial Gates in Selected Tombs in the Valley of the Kings, Arranged Chronologically²⁶

Tomb	Reign of	Width of Gate	Tomb	Reign of	Width of Gate
39	Early Dyn. XVIII	110 cm	7	Ramesses II	210 cm
38	Tuthmosis I or II	130 cm	8	Merenptah	220 cm
36	Hatshepsut	100 cm	10	Amenmesse	220 cm
48	Amenophis II	110 cm	15	Sethos II	220 cm
35	Amenophis II	100 cm	14	Setnakhte	180 cm
43	Tuthmosis IV	180 cm	11	Ramesses III	210 cm
22	Amenophis III	180 cm	2	Ramesses IV	280 cm
46	Amenophis III	140 cm	1	Ramesses VII	280 cm
55	Late Dyn. XVIII	150 cm	6	Ramesses IX	280 cm
62	Tutʿankhamūn	150 cm	4	Ramesses XI	290 cm
23	Ay	140 cm			
5		120 cm			

It seems clear from these brief observations that KV 5 was not originally carved for the children of Ramesses II. More likely, it was a late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb that was re-used (and perhaps enlarged) a century later for his sons' burials. Although no artifacts have been found in KV 5 to confirm this, it is possible that some of the plastered decoration applied by Ramesses II to chamber walls was applied directly over earlier Eighteenth Dynasty decoration (if the tomb had been decorated at all at that time). If this is the case, then the clearing of additional wall areas may indicate more specifically for whom this unusual tomb was originally carved.

Phase 2

From the reigns of Ramesses II and III to the Third Intermediate Period. (There is stratigraphical evidence for this period: from floor to +5–10 cm above floor; present to some extent in all quadrants of Chamber 1, principally in corners and within 25 cm of chamber walls.) Material found directly on the floor of the chamber is almost certainly to be dated to the period when the tomb was used as a burial place for children of Ramesses II and to the period, perhaps half a

century later, when the tomb was robbed. On the floor in the north-west corner of the tomb were found the mummified and well-wrapped fragments of the distal end of a right adult male femur. 10 cm to its south lay the overturned base of a Canaanite amphora containing blue paint. It had been reused as a paint pot by one of the workmen who decorated KV 5. The vessel was overturned while the paint was still liquid, and its contents had run onto the floor. The pigment appears to be identical to that used in the decoration of the wall scenes (on wall 2) immediately beside (to the west of) the vessel. Near these stains, in the very northwesternmost corner of the chamber, lay fragments of the lower halves of two shabti figures, both rather poorly modelled, made of faience with black-painted text on their front and sides. One of the shabtis clearly bears part of what Schneider lists as a shabti spell (version IVB) of which several Nineteenth Dynasty examples are known, all associated with burials of royalty or members of the royal family.²⁷ The text on the other, unglazed, shabti fragment, also written horizontally, cannot be read except for the name *R'-mss* in line 2. In the south-east corner of the chamber we found a small fragment of what may have been an incised red granite sarcophagus. Traces of only one character remain on its surface, perhaps the seated figure of Gardiner's Sign-List A.41 or A.42. Lying a few centimetres from it were two fragments of an alabaster canopic jar, on which the characters *dd in* were visible, incised vertically and filled with blue pigment. Small, poorly preserved fragments of two faience shabtis, and a third figure that was complete (12 cm high) but crudely made of faience and badly eroded, lay beside several 2 cm long, dark blue, tubular faience beads. Also on the floor in this quadrant lay a round, 5 cm diameter, wooden drawer handle. All the potsherds found on the floor here, and those in the north-west corner, were of New Kingdom date. There were approximately two dozen sherds, fragments of perhaps four or five vessels (some of which are described below, in section V). Except for the paint pot, which certainly was left behind by those who painted the tomb, all this material and its distribution in the chamber seem consistent with what one would find if tomb robbers had penetrated the tomb, rifled it, and left unwanted fragments scattered about as they left.

Elizabeth Thomas has expressed doubt that the 'breccia verd'antico' mentioned by Burton actually came from KV 5.²⁸ Quite rightly, she notes that 'a granite sarcophagus would be expected at this time' (and, of course, fragments of such a sarcophagus were found by us on the floor of Chamber 1). She also questions the attribution to the tomb of an ostrakon showing an artist's sketch of a king's head, found near here during Carter's clearing operation, and of a small and undatable fragment of an alabaster canopic jar found during work to widen the paved road in 1960.²⁹ There is insufficient information about these pieces to confirm her view.

Which of the sons of Ramesses II were buried in KV 5? It is possible that Amen-her-khepeshef and Ramesses, whom we already know from inscriptions in Chamber 1, were the only ones, but there are other candidates. Recently, C. N. Reeves³⁰ has argued that an ostrakon published by Elizabeth Thomas,³¹ which identifies the burial-place of Meryatum, another son of Ramesses II, refers to KV 5. The text reads:

(1) From *tr(t)yt* to the general-in-chief (*p3 imy-r mš^c wr*), (2) 30 cubits; (and to) the work (*p3 r-^c b3k*) of the greatest of the seers Meryatum, (3) 25 cubits. From *tr(t)yt* (and? to?) (4) the work(-place?) of the oils (*p3 r-^c b3k n n3 sgnn*) to my (*p3y.i*) greatest of the seers, 40 cubits. (5) Downstream on the northern path where the old work (*p3 r-^c b3k ls*) is, (6) 30 cubits to the general-in-chief.

Reeves notes that, although the topographical features referred to here cannot be identified, *p3 imy-r mš^c wr* may be a euphemism for Ramesses II and, therefore, a reference to his tomb, KV 7. If so, he argues, Meryatum is buried in KV 5.

There are other sons, too, who predeceased Ramesses II — Prē^c-her-wenemef, Montu-her-khepeshef, Nebenkharu, Amen-em-wia, Sety, Setepenrē^c, Meryrē^c, Hor-her-wenemef — and it is possible that any, or all, of them (note that we have excluded Khaemwese from the list) also might have been interred here. (We know, by the way, that the inscriptions so far seen in KV 5 were carved before year 20 of the reign of Ramesses II, since the king's name was written as *R^c-mss* on the walls we have seen, not *R^c-mssw*, as was typical after that date. This does not preclude the possibility, of course, that walls yet to be cleared were decorated later.)³²

Phase 3

Third Intermediate Period, Late Period, and Coptic. (Stratified debris, principally ceiling fall and dust, from +5–10 cm to +90–100 cm above the floor; present in all quadrants, but primarily from the southeast quadrant.) The pottery from the several strata in Phase 3 consists of shattered vessels found in the south-east and south-west quadrants of the chamber. The pottery seems originally to have lain, largely intact, along the chamber walls and to have been crushed *in situ* by the weight of ceiling fall and debris. Nothing in the distribution of this material suggests that the vessels were placed here by someone using the tomb chamber as a storage room or as a shelter. It seems more likely that the vessels simply fell into the tomb, perhaps tossed aside by a passer-by.

Unlike several other tombs in this part of the Valley, it is important to note that KV 5 so far shows no evidence whatever of graffiti on its walls or of the smoke-blackened ceilings usually associated with repeated or long-term re-use.³³ The first chamber of KV 5 may have been entered by Late Period and early Christian visitors, but the location and depth of its entrance apparently made it unfit to serve as a storeroom or dwelling place. KV 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6, which lie nearby, were much more accessible and were used for those purposes. Indeed, Carter observed that ‘in the II-IV centuries A.D. we find a colony of anchorites in full possession [of the Valley of the Kings], the open tombs in use as cells, and one [KV 3] transformed into a church’.³⁴ KV 5, however, was ignored.

The Theban Mapping Project

Phase 4

Perhaps late Christian to nineteenth century AD. (Water-borne rock and silt, with some ceiling fall, from +90–100 cm to approximately +200 cm, but not found in the front centre of the chamber. These strata were apparently present in all quadrants.) No artifacts are to be found in this debris, but, although difficult to date, the strata suggest that KV 5 was inaccessible during a period that may have extended from about the fourth century AD until early in the nineteenth century. There is evidence that at least six separate floods deposited silts and rock in Chamber 1 during these years. Their depth and character are quite different from the 10–15 flood levels to be seen in the tomb of Ramesses II (KV 7), however, and no correlation between the two flood records is possible at this time. Their dissimilarity is due to the topography of the Valley's entrance: floodwaters would have been diverted away from KV 5 and along the other side of the Valley.³⁵

Phase 5

Early nineteenth century AD. Although impossible to date precisely, a narrow (50–80 cm wide) channel through the topmost layers of fill in the first chamber was cut some time prior to the visits of Burton, Lane, and others. The channel has since been partially filled with c. 20–30 cm of fine silt and sand, most of it slippage from higher strata to its left and right. Lane referred to this channel when he visited the tomb, and it was also mentioned by Lefébure in 1883.³⁶ It is unlikely that it could have been cut much before Lane's time: had it been accessible for a longer period, there certainly would have been more debris blocking parts of it. We know that the channel was used by Lane, Burton, and the few others who visited the tomb in the nineteenth century. It gave Burton access to Chamber 3, where he wrote his name in lamp black on the ceiling, and where possibly he (or Carter, as noted below) rather hastily dug along the rear wall.

Phase 6

Early twentieth century AD. (Unstratified debris, mixed with some ceiling fall in its upper levels, from c. +10 cm to +200 cm, and confined to the centre area of Chamber 1.) In 1902, Howard Carter cleared the entrance to KV 5, which by this time had become completely blocked with debris.³⁷ Nothing was published of this work, but the pattern of debris suggests that Carter's workmen exposed the entrance and then proceeded to clear away debris from the centre third of Chamber 1, creating an open space approximately 1.50 m wide and 2.50 m long. Possibly, Carter's workmen then crawled along the nineteenth century channel into Chamber 3, where they hastily exposed a section of the rear wall, probably looking for a corridor that would continue along what seemed to be the chamber's central axis. Finding none, and failing to see the decoration on the walls of Chamber 1,³⁸ they abandoned work in KV 5. During the next eighteen years, apparently con-

vinced that the tomb was undecorated and of no importance, Carter proceeded to cover it over with debris from his excavations elsewhere in the Valley. The debris which his workmen dumped here included fragments of English and German newspapers, a broken piece of heavy stemmed glassware, and a fragmentary adult female cranium. It was this debris that filled the open space which they had made in front of Chamber 1 (our Phase 6) and that again hid the tomb entrance from view.

Phase 7

From c. 1918 to 1988. (from c. +230 cm to the ceiling; consisting of large blocks of the fallen ceiling and silts washed into Chamber 1, principally on the chamber's eastern and northern sides.) The ceiling fall in the topmost strata of Chamber 1 was apparently due entirely to two factors, both of which appeared about thirty years ago. One was the construction of a sewer pipe directly over the entrance to KV 5, running from the rest house in the Valley of the Kings to a septic tank some 150 m below the Valley entrance. As we described above, this pipe had settled and cracked, and quantities of effluvia had leaked into the tomb. The other factor was the constantly growing number of large tourist buses which, until only last year, drove to the Valley entrance and over at least two of the chambers of KV 5. The vibrations of these vehicles, particularly as they parked with their engines idling directly above a part of the tomb, resulted in serious structural damage to the ceilings of Chambers 1 and 2, and parts of 3, 4, and 5. Together, these modern factors account for virtually all of the ceiling fall in these upper strata.

V. Diagnostic Pottery Found in KV 5

Prepared by Barbara Greene Aston

[The dating of the strata described in the preceding section was based principally upon the pottery which they contained. We were fortunate to have had Dr Barbara Greene Aston, a widely recognized expert on the pottery of dynastic Egypt, prepare the diagnostics for us, and it is from her study that the following descriptive notes have been excerpted.]

A. Pottery from the New Kingdom (Ramesside Period). The pottery of this period comes from the floor of Chamber 1, principally from the south-east and north-west quadrants. The following eight vessels were considered to be definitive in assigning a date to this phrase:

1. Large marl clay amphora, self-slipped. Vienna System Marl D. Rim, shoulder with handle, and rounded base.
2. Two 'beer jar' bases. Nile silt, Vienna Nile B2.
3. Canaanite amphora base, imported. Reused as a paint pot.

4. Large marl clay storage jar, body sherd; Vienna Nile A2.
5. Nile silt bowl, profile with outcurved rim and rounded base, self-slipped; Vienna Marl B2.
6. Nile silt bowl, self-slipped with red-washed rim. Vienna Marl B2.
7. Large marl clay storage jar rim (from 'meat jar'). Vienna Marl A2.
8. Amphora handle and body sherds of Vienna Marl D, self-slipped.

B. Pottery of the Third Intermediate, Late, and Ptolemaic Periods. Found in Phase 3, primarily in the south-east quadrant of Chamber 1, from which came the following four diagnostic pieces:

1. Nile-silt bottle, red washed, ridged neck.
2. Marl clay carinated dish.
3. Nile-silt carinated dish.
4. Nile-silt bottles, shoulder sherds, red washed.

C. Pottery of the Christian Period. These sherds are mixed with those of the preceding group in strata of Phase 3.

1. Rims, handles, bases, and body sherds of amphorae of 'chocolate brown' silt. Found in all quadrants.
2. Sherds of silt jar 'gullah', white washed, ring base and neck.
3. Silt jar, rounded base, self-slipped with white finger streaks for decoration.
4. Fine silt jar rim, red washed.
5. Silt rims, bases, handles, and body sherds of globular 'cooking pots'.

VI. The Decoration of Chamber 1

There were surprisingly large areas of decorated wall surfaces still intact in Chamber 1, in spite of the damage that its walls had suffered because of the leaking septic line and the heavy traffic on the roadway above. Thus far, we have completely exposed the walls on either side of the entrance gate (labelled walls 1 and 2), the right side wall (number 4), parts of the left side wall (number 3), and the right rear wall (number 6). Because of their delicate condition, however, we have proceeded very cautiously with exposure and chemical treatment and so far have copied only the right front wall and the front half of the right side wall. Those are illustrated in figs. 12 (wall 1, northern half), 13 (wall 1, southern half), and 14 (wall 4, western third).

The decoration was cut into a 1–2 cm thick layer of hard, sandy-textured, light reddish-brown plaster which had been applied directly to the roughly cut bedrock. Moisture and consequent salt crystallization has, of course, caused areas of this plaster to be pushed away from the bedrock and to fall of its own weight to the floor. (Unfortunately, none of the plaster fragments found in the debris was large enough to be restored to the scenes from which it came.) Nevertheless, there are large enough areas of decoration remaining on the walls — decoration

very similar to that in other Ramesside tombs — and there will be little problem reconstructing the scenes. The one disappointment in our examination of the reliefs was that the area of the northern side wall (wall 3), where one would expect to find a son's name, had been lost to salt damage. Hopefully, this will not be a common occurrence in KV 5.

Our clearing and recording procedure was simple but time-consuming. After determining that the fill adjacent to a wall area in Chamber 1 could safely be removed, the wall was exposed and then allowed to sit for several months untouched. It was then cleaned, chemically treated and, where necessary, rebonded to the stone behind it to insure its strength and stability. After another period of several months, the wall was inspected and its condition compared with photographs and notes taken earlier. If it had stabilized — and no area was found to have done otherwise during this process — it was then re-photographed and full size drawings were made of its decoration. These drawings, checked twice in the field for accuracy, were then inked, reduced to scale, and checked again. (No dotted line restoration of missing areas has been added to the drawings. That will be done in a later report, together with textual documentation to justify such restorations.)

There was also a substantial amount of paint still preserved on the walls of Chamber 1, especially of blue pigment (the same colour as that spilled on the floor in ancient times, cf. section II, phase 2), and of red. It was especially common on the walls in the southern half of the chamber (walls 1, 4, and 6), where the water damage was slightly less severe than in the northern half.

Wall 1 of Chamber 1 shows Ramesses thurifying and presenting his son, Amen-her-khepeshef (fig. 12), to seated figures of Sokar and Hator (fig. 13). Wall 4, only the right hand portion of which is illustrated here, shows the son of Ramesses II, Ramesses, standing before the god Nefertem (fig. 14). Similar arrangements of scenes may be found in the tombs of the sons of Ramesses III: e.g., Valley of the Queens tomb QV 42 (Prê-her-wenemef), QV 43 (Set-her-khepeshef), QV 44 (Khaemwese), and QV 55 (Amen-her-khepeshef).

VI. Observations

Although the clearing and conservation of KV 5 is tangential to the principal objectives of the Theban Mapping Project, the location of this tomb, its present condition, and its potential historical value make it an important adjunct to our work. During the coming season we shall continue to clear debris from the first two chambers. Time permitting, we may also sample the contents of other parts of the tomb. In addition, we shall install structural supports to insure the stability of the ceiling in Chambers 1 and 2 and will continue to monitor and treat their walls.

We hope that three significant questions can be answered in coming seasons. First: how many 'suites' of rooms are to be found in KV 5 and how much further do they extend into the hillside? Attempts to probe beyond doorways of presently accessible chambers have already indicated that the tomb continues on in several

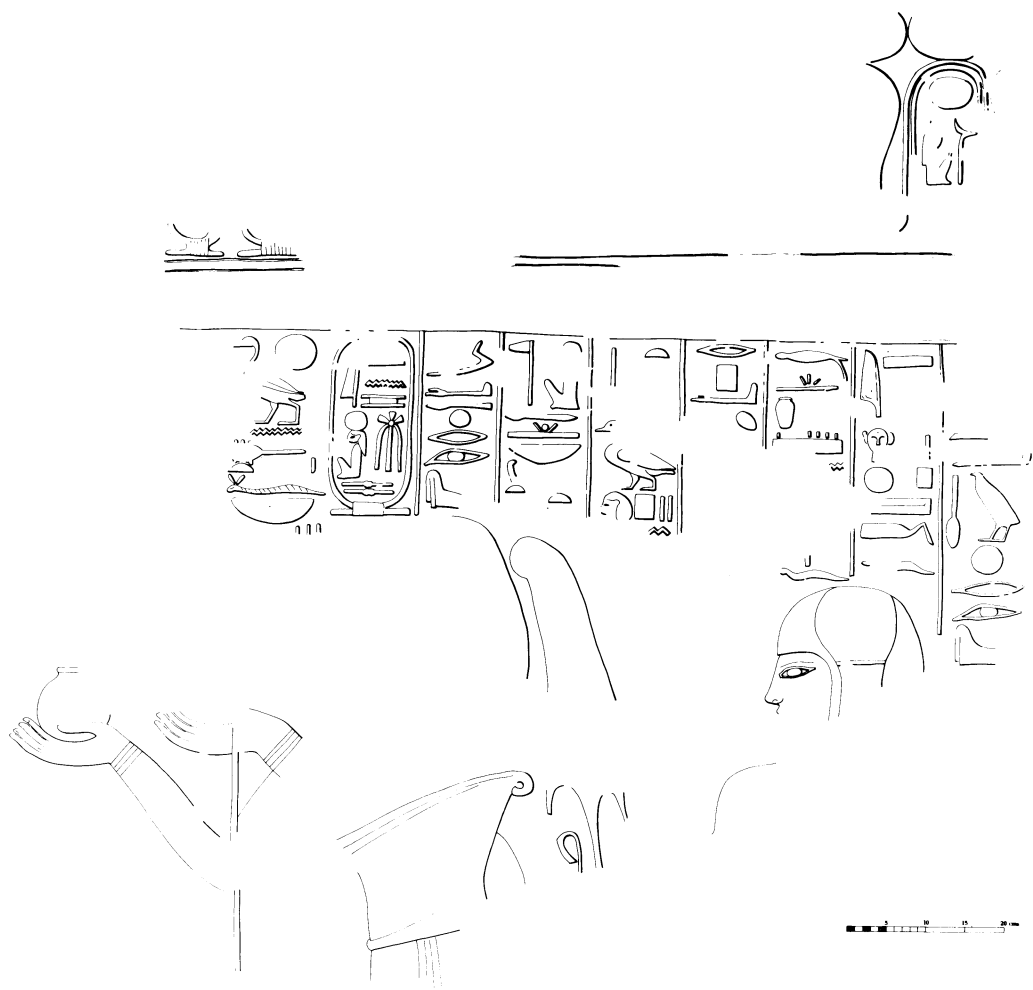


FIGURE 12 KV 5, Chamber 1, northern section of wall 1.



FIGURE 13 KV 5, Chamber 1, southern section of wall 1.



FIGURE 14 KV 5, Chamber 1, western section of wall 4.

different directions for not inconsiderable distances. Cut at levels lower than the pillared hall, however, these chambers are so densely filled with waterborne debris that they remain completely inaccessible even to probes.

Second: how many of the sons of Ramesses II were interred here? We have found the names of two, and an ostrakon strongly argues for a third. Any number up to twelve seems possible.

Third: for whom was the tomb originally cut, and how many of its chambers were part of the original plan? The location, size, and plan of the tomb show that it was carved for someone of importance. Tempting though it might be to speculate about who this important late Eighteenth Dynasty individual might have been, we must wait and see if any archaeological or epigraphical clues can be found in KV 5.

Most importantly, we shall continue to work toward the original goals of the Theban Mapping Project. In subsequent seasons we shall begin to map tombs and temples at the north central part of the Theban Necropolis, beginning with areas of Khokha, Asasif, Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna, and the Deir el-Bahri cirque. Like the Valley of the Kings, this area, too, is being subjected to intense pressures from tourism and environmental changes, and must be given high priority in any programme of conservation and recording.³⁹

Notes

- 1 Kent R. Weeks, 'The Antiquities of Thebes,' a paper presented to the Climate Institute Cairo Conference on Climate Change, Cairo, December, 1989.
- 2 A brief cartographic history of the Necropolis may be found in *The Berkeley Map of the Theban Necropolis: Preliminary Report, 1978* (Berkeley, 1978), reprinted in *NARCE* 105 (1978), 18–50.
- 3 The Theban Mapping Project has greatly benefited from the many talented and hard-working people who have been associated with it. The credit they have received in each of the Annual Reports is hardly adequate to convey the debt the Project owes to their efforts. I must here especially single out the Assistant Director of the Project, Dr Catharine Roehrig, now of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, who can certainly be called a worthy successor to Elizabeth Thomas as the foremost authority on the Valley of the Kings, and Mr David A. Goodman, the Project's Chief Surveyor, who has been responsible for designing the surveys, implementing them, obtaining much of the equipment needed for their completion, and training the students who aided him in his work. It is to their efforts and loyal support that credit for this Project must be directed. Participants during the most recent (1989) season of work in KV 5 included Mr Christopher Meid, Ms Ann Gaffney, Ms Doaa Radwan, and Ms Heba el-Rifai. Our Inspector of Antiquities throughout the KV 5 phase of our work has been Mr Ibrahim Soliman. To him and to the staff of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, especially Dr Mohammed el-Sughayer and Dr Mohammed Nasr, go our sincere thanks. A special acknowledgement must be made to Mr Bruce Ludwig and Mr W. Lockwood Haight who have provided a substantial portion of the funds for this project and have enthusiastically participated in its planning and execution. I must also thank Mr Edwin Brock of the Canadian Institute in Cairo for reading and commenting on this manuscript; Mr Gerald Vincent for very kind and welcome assist-

- ance with the computer work that it involved; and dearest Mrs Susan Weeks for painstakingly and beautifully preparing the plans, profiles, and artwork for this paper.
- 4 Reports of the Theban Mapping Project have been published regularly in monograph form and are reprinted in *NARCE* as follows: first report, *NARCE* 105 (Summer, 1978), 18–50; second report, *NARCE* 109 (Summer, 1979), 19–45; third report, *NARCE* 113 (Winter, 1980), 27–50; fourth report, *NARCE* 116 (Winter, 1981), 39–56; fifth report, *NARCE* 121 (Spring, 1983), 41–58; sixth report (of the sixth, seventh, and eighth seasons), *NARCE* 136/37 (Winter, 1987), 1–13. The Project was first called the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project during my years at the University of California; since my move to the American University in Cairo it has become simply the Theban Mapping Project, or TMP.
 - 5 These are briefly described in the Annual Reports of the Project; see note 4.
 - 6 The Karnak axis was chosen so that our grid system, covering the West Bank at Thebes, would be compatible with the system used by the Franco-Egyptian Centre on the East Bank. Vertical control was based upon three Survey of Egypt monuments on the West Bank. See our Annual Reports for more detailed descriptions (above, n. 4). ‘To monument’ a feature is an expression used by surveyors to mean that a physical marker has been set that indicates the precise XYZ coordinates of a given location.
 - 7 Just prior to her death, Ms Elizabeth Thomas, whose *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* has been the standard reference for the study of New Kingdom royal tombs since its publication in 1966, asked Dr Catharine Roehrig to supervise a revision of that study, and the Theban Mapping Project to see to its publication. We hope that the revised *Royal Necropoleis* will appear shortly after the *Atlas* volume on the Valley of the Kings in a compatibly cross-referenced format.
 - 8 The historical summary on which this section is based is that of K. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt* (Warminster, 1982).
 - 9 A. H. Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents* (Oxford, 1948), 57–8; transl. in E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 266. The translation here is based upon that of Miss Thomas but with minor changes and omissions.
 - 10 Thomas, op. cit. 150 and, similarly, 266.
 - 11 It was not seen by Champollion, however; Belzoni seems to imply that the doorway was completely filled with debris and access even to the first chamber was impossible; Thomas, op. cit. 63 and 62.
 - 12 Lane’s notebooks are quoted by Thomas, op. cit. 150.
 - 13 Quoted by Thomas, op. cit. 149–50. Miss Thomas correctly surmised that the ‘small chambers’ in fact are pits dug into the debris that fills this large room. Burton’s sketch plan of the then accessible parts of KV 5 is British Library Add. MS. 25642, 19, M. It is redrawn (not to scale, since Burton failed to provide one) in J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (New York, 1981), 105.
 - 14 J. G. Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes, and General View of Egypt* (London, 1835), 121.
 - 15 *The Berkeley Map of the Theban Necropolis: Report of the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Seasons* (Berkeley, 1987); reprinted in *NARCE* 136/137 (1987), 1–3. The geophysical work was done for us first by Southwest Research Institute and later by Weston Geophysical, Inc. The latter work was supported by Archaeological Imaging, Inc., to whom we express our thanks.
 - 16 I should note that Catharine Roehrig was one of the first in our group to remark on the Eighteenth Dynasty characteristics of the entrance of KV 5.
 - 17 Thomas, op. cit. 150. Note also her comment, p. 65: ‘In Dyn. 18 and the three reigns following, steep steps at the cliff base or low in the wadis lead to inconspicuous entrances of small to modest measurements.’

- 18 Thomas, op. cit. 118, notes that Dynasty XIX tombs are characterized by their varied sites, straight axis, relatively level corridor slope, full decoration and the style of that decoration, and the plan of the sarcophagus hall. Only the tomb of Haremhab offers exceptions to these features.
- 19 D. Eigner, *Die Monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der Thebanischen Nekropole* (Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo, Das Österreichische Archäologische Institut, VI) (Vienna, 1984), 130 ff.
- 20 G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna, I: The Objects (The Rock Tombs of El-'Amarna, part VII)*, (Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Memoir 35), (London, 1974), pl. 4. There is since a more detailed plan in the second volume of Professor Martin's work, drawn by Mark Lehner, to which I did not have access when preparing these notes. See also Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* (London, 1988), 28–43.
- 21 See, e.g., Kitchen, op. cit. 106, fig. 35, and the references on pp. 252–3.
- 22 Certainly, KV 5 could also be included in a list of unusual or complex tomb plans at Thebes — a list that would include KV 12, Pedamenopet (TT 33), and Montuemhet (TT 34) — but complexity of plan is not itself a typological criterion: that would create a category that certainly would have to include a number of private Old Kingdom and royal Middle Kingdom tombs as well.
- 23 Thomas, op. cit. 138 and 284.
- 24 Thomas, op. cit. 65, notes that the dimensions of various other elements in a tomb are of potential chronological significance: '... I was continually surprised when measuring in chronological order to find that a gradual increase in corridor widths is almost invariable from reign to reign. ...' She cites corridor widths of 168 cm for Tutankhamun, 176 cm for KV 46, 210 cm for KV 55, and 368 cm for Ramesses VII, 370 cm for Ramesses IX, 380 cm for Ramesses X, and 396 cm for Ramesses XI. (Note that these are corridor widths, not gate dimensions, as we are giving.)
- 25 These measurements are based on the plans in N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, 6 vols. (London, 1903–8). See now too E. Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity*, trans. David Warburton (New York, 1990), 29–30.
- 26 The measurements are rounded to the nearest 10 cm and are taken from scaled drawings made in the field by the Theban Mapping Project (usually at 1:100). Time did not permit the use of trigonometrically derived measurements for this table. Those figures would be more precise than these and will replace these in later publications. However, these approximate values are perfectly adequate for present purposes. (My thanks to Sherine Hafez for assistance in collating this data.)
- 27 H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statues, with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Leiden*, 3 vols. (Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, II), (Leiden, 1977), II, fig. 110, example 3.3.0.1.
- 28 Thomas, op. cit. 150.
- 29 Ibid., citing Howard Carter, 'Report on General Work Done in the Southern Inspectorate,' *ASAE* 4 (1903), 45: '... transferred the men to work on the other side of the valley, the place being between the small valley on the east side and the uninscribed tomb no. 5. Here they worked carefully along the edge of the foot hill ... this site was proved to contain no tombs and only a fine ostrakon in two fragments was found, bearing an artist's sketch of a king's head; the debris here was probably from the tomb no. 5.' (Note that KV 5 is said to be 'uninscribed'.)
- 30 C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London, 1990), 129–30.
- 31 In *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), 209.
- 32 I am greatly indebted to Professor Kenneth Kitchen for calling this last point to my attention.

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- 33 On such activities in the Valley, see Thomas, op. cit. 53–54; H. Winlock, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition Publications, III), (New York, 1926), I, 19.
- 34 H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen . . . I* (London, 1923–4), 62; quoted by Thomas, op. cit. 54.
- 35 For a general survey of these problems see: Rutherford and Chekene and J. Romer, *Damage in the Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes: a Preliminary Report to the President of the Egyptian Organization of Antiquities Requested of the Brooklyn Museum by H. E. Dr. Gamal Mokhtar in January 1977* (n.p., n.d.).
- 36 E. Lefébure, *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes* (Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire), 3 vols. (Paris, 1886–9), II, 15.
- 37 The doorway may have been covered even by 1883: Thomas, op. cit. 150.
- 38 See the comment of Carter in our n. 23.
- 39 Readers wishing for more information on the Theban Mapping Project, KV 5, and the publication of the *Atlas* are encouraged to direct their queries to Professor Weeks at the American University in Cairo, 113 Sharia Kasr el-Aini, Cairo, Egypt, or by fax to Cairo: 355–7565.

The Tomb of Merenptah and its Sarcophagi

EDWIN C. BROCK

Introduction

A major theme of this conference is the on-going discovery of information about the Valley of the Kings on various levels and through many different approaches. Much of the work of earlier explorers tended to be unsystematic or else narrow in its interests and unfortunately was not adequately published. The need has always existed to deal with the Valley as a unified archaeological site and unfortunately, although the need still exists, much of the evidence has been removed or muddled through the activities of our predecessors. It is through the efforts of the present generation of investigators at this site that any of this information will be collected to provide an understanding of the overall archaeology of this cemetery. Venues such as this conference are welcomed as a forum for bringing together the ideas and results of our efforts.

My own investigation in the Valley of the Kings has been concentrated on the recording and study of the extant stone sarcophagi furnished for the burials of the kings ruling from the end of the Amarna period to the last to be so provided in the late Twentieth Dynasty. In the course of these investigations, particularly in the tombs of Merenptah, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses VII, various clearance operations have been carried out to elicit evidence for the nature of the installation of these sarcophagi as well as to recover any fragments of these broken relics that might add knowledge to the nature of their appearance and decoration. As much of my effort has been concentrated on the tomb of Merenptah, I will centre my presentation on the information obtained there which pertains to the installation of the elaborate set of sarcophagi provided for that king's burial, as well as the subsequent fate of those artifacts.

Description of Tomb

The tomb of Merenptah, presently designated as no. 8 in the current registry of tombs in the Valley of the Kings, was carved into the end of an outcrop projecting from the cliff face several metres above the present Valley floor between the tomb of Ramesses II and those of Tutankhamun and Ramesses VI. A stepped passage open to the sky leads down to the entry with a scene of the sun disc entering the underworld flanked by Isis and Nephthys. A series of stairways and corridors interrupted by doors descends straight into the mountain side ultimately leading into a hall with two pillars and having a second room with two pillars opening off its north side (see fig. 15 for tomb plan and section).¹ The decoration of the walls of the corridors and the hall presents the *Litany of Rē* and extracts from the *Imy-Duat* and the *Book of Gates*. Another passage descends through the floor of the first pillared hall along the same axis as above, leading to another room in which lies a rectangular lid of red granite. Another corridor continues down to the large vaulted burial chamber which has a sunken floor surrounded by four pillars on each side. A second sarcophagus lid of granite placed on a modern base of limestone blocks occupies the middle of this room. Small chambers are located at the corners of the hall, now almost completely filled with dirt and stone chips deposited by floods. The axis of the tomb is continued past this hall as a passage flanked by a pair of rooms equally encumbered by flood debris and leading to a small rough room. Much of the decoration below the first pillared hall has disappeared, and only traces carved through the plaster into the rock survive. The upper parts of the walls of the sarcophagus chamber yet retain much of their painted plaster presenting many scenes that appear for the first time in this tomb.

The presence of graffiti in Greek and Roman script at least as far as the first pillared hall shows that the tomb may have always been open at least to that date.² The tomb's existence has been noted in Western scholarly literature since the seventeenth century.³ It was partially planned by the French expedition that produced the *Description de l'Égypte* and this plan shows that the tomb was accessible from its entrance to the end of the First Pillared Hall and side room. Subsequent nineteenth-century scholars, notably Champollion, Lepsius, and Lefébure, published descriptions of the accessible parts of the tomb as well as its decoration, although no complete publication of the tomb has yet been carried out. It was only through the efforts of Howard Carter in 1903–4 that the lower part of the tomb was cleared of the flood debris. Unfortunately only a brief report of this work was ever published.⁴ The tomb has been described in some detail by Elizabeth Thomas in her study of the Theban royal necropoleis.⁵

Description of the Sarcophagi

The sarcophagi of Merenptah are the major extant examples of the burial equipment provided for this king. It can now be demonstrated that Merenptah had four stone sarcophagi, set one within the other. The outer three were fashioned

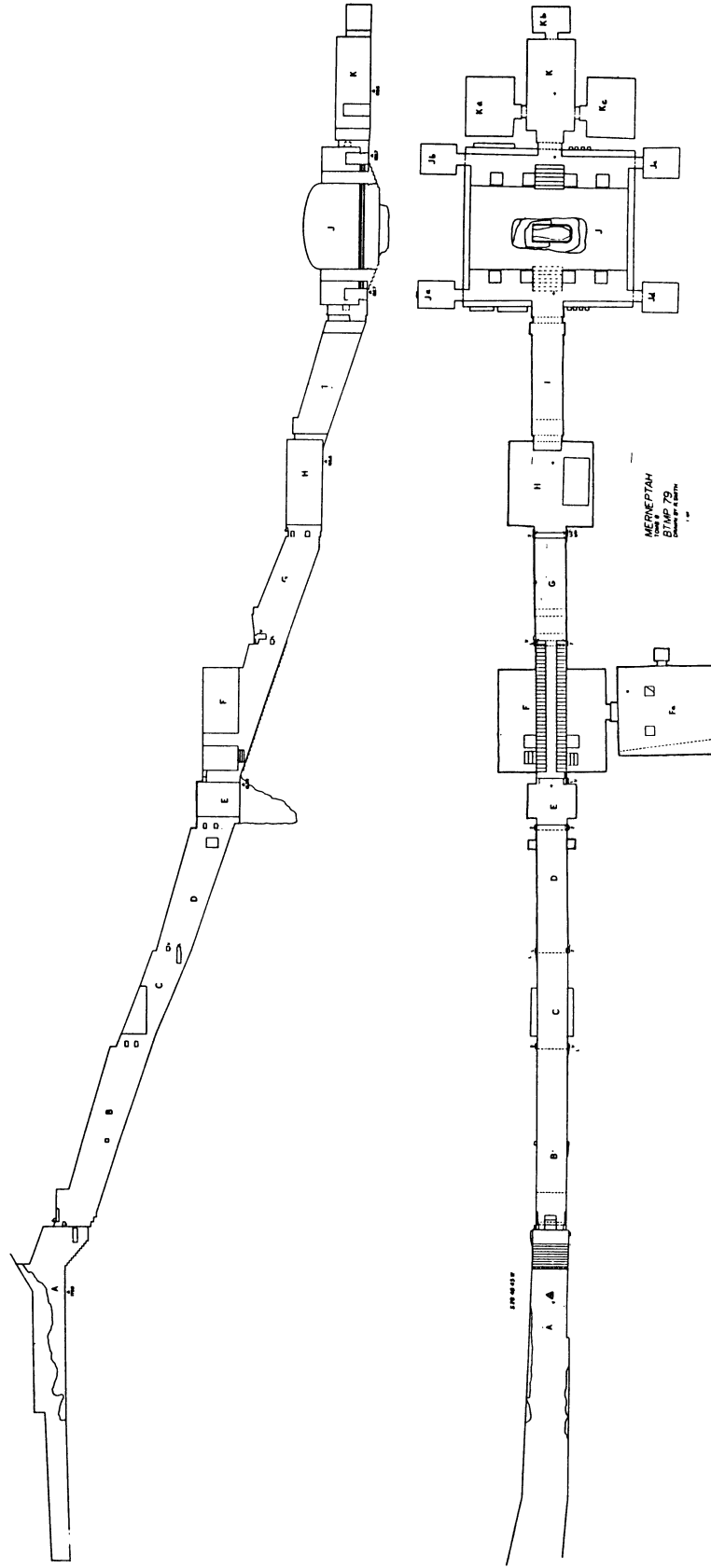


FIGURE 15 The tomb of Merenptah (KV 8).

of red Aswan granite while the innermost was of white travertine (often incorrectly called alabaster), a form of calcite probably quarried at Hatnub.⁶

The two outermost granite sarcophagi are best represented by their virtually intact lids, while the accompanying boxes, shattered in antiquity, are attested only by various fragments. The first or outermost was rectangular and of massive dimensions, having a length of 410 cm and a width of 220 cm measured from the bottom edge of the lid. Assembly of groups of fragments, particularly from the foot end of the box, suggests that the height of this element may have been over 200 cm. The exterior of the foot end was decorated with an abbreviated version of the opening vignette of the *Book of Gates* (representing the first gateway)⁷ and continues on the left side with the first division of that composition. Two goddesses kneeling on 'gold' symbols face the centre of the head-end which appears to have been decorated with a gateway from the *Book of Gates*. The right side depicts the fifth division of the *Imy-Duat*. The interior surfaces of the ends were each decorated with a figure of a winged goddess kneeling again on a 'gold' sign, representing Isis and Nephthys. The left side of the interior depicts the seventh division of the *Imy-Duat* while the eighth division of that composition is on the right side.

The upper surface of the accompanying lid is slightly vaulted in section, and the flat raised surface is inscribed with a long hieroglyphic text of twenty-six horizontal lines.⁸ Below this text recited by the goddess Neith a group of figures in sunk relief completes the decoration of this upper surface at the foot end. An Osirid figure of the king in the centre is embraced by the goddess Neith and the ram-headed form of the sun god, the latter followed by Shu and Geb. The Four Sons of Horus stand behind Neith, and kneeling figures of Nephthys and Isis make gestures of mourning at either end of this representation. The undulating figure of a snake holding its tail in its mouth forms a border for the text and the scene and by this act iconographically can be identified as the guardian serpent deity Mehen, 'the Coiled One'.

All vertical surfaces of the exterior of the lid are also decorated with incised texts and figures in sunk relief. As was the case with the box, the centre of the broken foot-end of the lid is decorated by an abbreviated version of the opening vignette or gateway of the *Book of Gates*⁹ which continues with the first division of that text at the corner and along the left side. This excerpt from that composition ends around the corner at the head-end, followed by a central figure of Osiris standing within a gateway flanked by 'Imy-wt' symbols. At the right corner of the head-end begins the fifth division of the *Imy-Duat* which continues along the right side and terminates at the right corner of the foot end. It is noteworthy to find the same extracts of funerary texts used on both the lid and box of the outer sarcophagus, a phenomenon that will be seen repeated on other elements of Merenptah's suite of sarcophagi. A large figure of the goddess Nut stretches across the central axis of the interior of the lid flanked on her left and right by the seventh and eighth divisions of the *Book of Gates* respectively. Traces of black can be seen in the wig of the goddess and yellow pigment delineates the figures in the *Book of Gates* scenes. A brown staining to the lower registers of these scenes attests to the lid having lain in this position in the flood debris that filled

the lower corridors and rooms of the tomb. A pair of kneeling winged goddesses are depicted at each interior end facing each other and flanking the names and titles of the king. None of these goddesses is named nor do any distinguishing iconographic details exist, although it might be supposed that either Isis and Nephthys were shown twice or else accompanied by Neith and Selqet.

While the extant fragments belonging to the outer box account for approximately a third of its original decorated surface, much less remains of the cartouche-shaped second box. Nearly all the material identified as belonging to this structure comes from the upper edge and top register. Enough does remain, however, to identify the decorative scheme of both the exterior and interior of the box. At the foot-end, the abbreviated form of the first gateway of the *Book of Gates* filled the flat expanse that formed the base of the cartouche. The first division itself occupied the left side, while the second division occupied the right, preceded by the more characteristic gateway at the head-end. The interior of the head-end was dominated by a large winged goddess, probably Nephthys, and her sister Isis was probably located at the foot, although there are no extant fragments identified to show her there as of yet. The right side of the interior was decorated with the seventh division of the *Imy-Duat* and the eighth division was placed on the left. This repeats the occurrence of the extracts from this composition found on the interior of the first box but reverses their location. Traces of colour on the exterior remain in the form of green and blue pigments on some of the figures. More colour is preserved on the interior surfaces where the figures and texts are often little more than roughly scratched into the surface and depend on the use of pigments to provide much of the detail. Here, in addition to blue and green, black, red, and yellow are also used, the latter in particular to delineate the texts, all against the pale mottled-red background of the granite.

The upper surface of the cartouche-shaped lid is dominated by a large sculpted mummiform figure of the king lying on a raised mound. The king wears the 'nemes' headdress with the uraeus on his brow and the royal beard on his chin. His arms are crossed over his chest and he holds the crook and flail in his left and right hands respectively. The remainder of his body and the area of the mound surrounding him are decorated with bands of texts and figures of the king offering to various gods as well as various protective deities. The vertical surface of the foot end displays a well-cut figure of the goddess Isis winged and kneeling on the symbol for gold. A more poorly carved figure of Nephthys is found at the head-end and surrounding the figure of the king on his mound is the snake Mehen again holding its tail in mouth behind the king's head. The vertical surfaces of the sides are incised with texts and figures belonging to the first division of the *Book of Gates*, with the upper register appearing on the king's left side and the lower register on his right. The absence of the middle register is peculiar; could the dominant figure of the king, the embodiment of both Osiris and Rē in the underworld, serve to represent at least the most important element of this register, the sun god in his bark?

A sculpted figure of Nut extends along the central axis of the interior of the lid. The details of her body are curiously flattened, particularly the face and torso, and this, as well as the hollowed areas at each end into which the hands and feet

extend, suggests that alterations were made to allow more space for a surface projecting upward from below. Two registers of roughly incised figures flank either side of the goddess and, while some traces of red pigment are extant in the upper registers, traces of grey-brown stains on the upper surfaces demonstrate how the water-borne silt collected in the overturned lid during one of the early floods that eventually encumbered the lower part of the tomb. The two registers furthest from the goddess depict the constellations of the northern and southern skies, with the northern group on her right and the southern one on her left, in reverse position to that indicated by the astronomical fragments on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber. Extracts from the middle registers of the second and third divisions of the *Imy-Duat* appear above the astronomical registers on the left and right sides of the goddess respectively. Winged figures of Nephthys and Isis kneel on gold symbols at the head and foot ends.

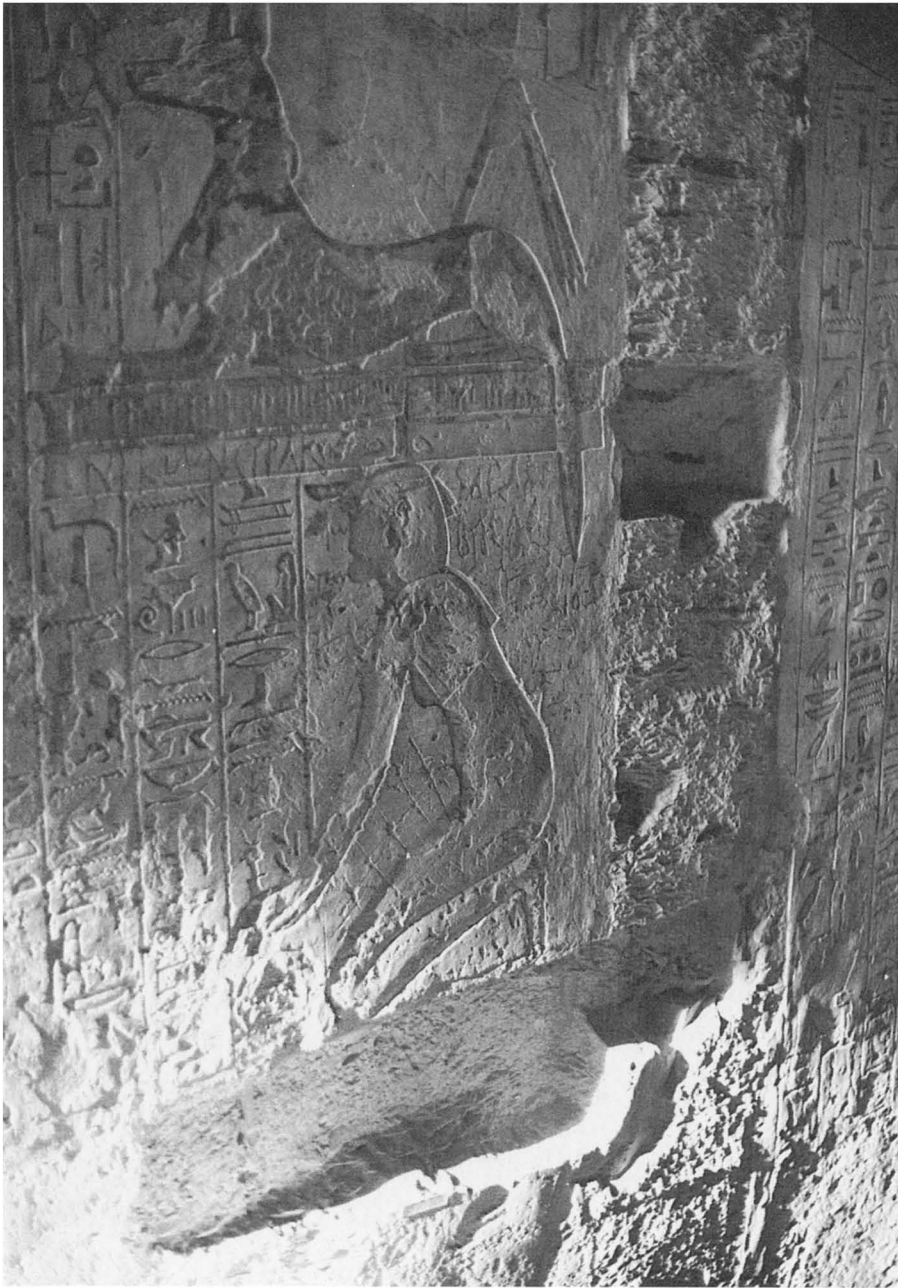
A curious structural feature seen along the lower edge of the head and foot of the lid as well as along the lower edge of the right side is the presence of a slot drilled into the lid at each of these points. Traces of similar vertical slots are found drilled into the upper edges of fragments of the second box belonging to the corresponding locations. It is likely that some sort of locking mechanism utilizing tangs fitted into these slots was planned. However, the interlocking action of the projecting lips of the upper and lower edges of the box and lid would have rendered such a mechanism unnecessary.¹⁰

At present the third sarcophagus of granite is displayed in the atrium of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, where it was transferred subsequent to its discovery in 1940 at Tanis by Montet.¹¹ It had apparently been brought there in the Twenty-first Dynasty from Thebes to be used as the outer sarcophagus for the burial of Psusennes I.¹² It is rectangular in shape and has a projecting dado as a base displaying a repeated motif of the *serekh* or 'palace facade' motif.¹³ The exterior surfaces of the box are decorated with figures in sunk relief representing a series of guardian deities associated with the 'Stundenwache' of Osiris.¹⁴ The interior surfaces of the sides of the box are also decorated in sunk relief depicting two series of deities facing the head-end of the box and associated with the 'followers of Rē' and the 'followers of the one in the sarcophagus'. The floor of the interior of the box displays an assemblage of various kinds of equipment including such regalia as crowns, sceptres, kilts, jewellery, weapons, and other articles of apparel and adornment, all derived ultimately from the 'frise d'objets' of Middle Kingdom coffins.¹⁵ The lid of the sarcophagus is in the form of a barrel vault with vertical end-pieces, reminiscent, like the box, of Middle Kingdom prototypes. Unlike those precursors, however, the upper surface of this lid is dominated by a large sculpted mummiform figure of the king. The figure is shown resting on a slightly raised ovoid mound, wearing a striped tripartite wig and holding the sceptres of kingship, the so-called crook and flail, in his hands. A dagger with a falcon-headed hilt is thrust through a belt wrapped about his waist from which a bead apron is suspended, and on the buckle is his nomen in an unaltered cartouche. At the head of the figure is sculpted a small kneeling goddess who embraces his head and is backed by a rectangular support similar to one at the feet of the king. While the cartouches on the lid, except for the one on the belt buckle, have been



PLATE XVI (Left) End of third corridor, south side, showing figure of Nephthys cut by beam slot and excised jamb with holes for anchoring sandstone replacement blocks; (right) the same, north side.

The Tomb of Merenptah



altered from those of Merenptah to those of Psusennes I, this is not the case with regard to the box. Close examination of the spaces where the titles and names of Psusennes appears shows that they overlay traces of the names and titles of Merenptah as crown prince. The underside of the lid is decorated with an outstretched sculpted female figure representing the goddess Nut. She is flanked by constellations and decans of the northern and southern skies as well as figures from the middle registers of the Second and Third Divisions of the *Imy-Duat*, reminiscent of the decoration on the underside of the second sarcophagus lid of this king.

A fragment of travertine in the British Museum¹⁶ bearing the cartouches of Merenptah appears to belong to the foot end of the innermost sarcophagus of this king and was probably of anthropoid shape like the well known example of Sethos I in the Sir John Soane Museum, London. This fragment again shows the abbreviated form of the opening vignette of the *Book of Gates*, which may have been continued along the left side. On the small amount remaining of the exterior right side, preserved at the foot-end corner is found the figure of a goddess who ends the middle register of the fifth division of the *Imy-Duat*, suggesting that this was the subject of the right side. On the interior a winged goddess kneels on the gold symbol and traces of the bottom of the steering oar of the solar bark can be detected at the inner corner of the right side of this foot end.

Alteration of the Tomb

The tomb of Merenptah exhibits instances of alteration of certain architectural features and their attendant decoration which are probably related to the introduction of the set of massive granite sarcophagi into the tomb.¹⁷ The principal evidence for this may be seen in the repeated phenomenon of the cutting back of seven pairs of door-jambs which served to separate the various descending passages and rooms leading ultimately to the large vaulted sarcophagus chamber. By examining the traces of the door-jamb thicknesses still preserved in many instances on the ceiling surfaces it is possible to approximate their original depth of extension from the surrounding wall surface. It is also evident that these door-jambs had already received their decoration or had been inscribed with texts. It is possible to cite many instances where extant columns of inscriptions appearing at the tops of original jamb surfaces carved in the limestone bedrock have been interrupted by the removal of substantial portions of these architectural features (see pl. XVI). This would account, for example, for the absence of the motif of the kneeling winged figures of the goddess Ma'at on the wide thickness of either jamb at the entrance of the tomb, a feature found at the entrance to the tomb of Merenptah's father Ramesses II and in the tombs of subsequent kings of the dynasty such as Sethos II, Amenmesse, and Siptah, as well as Ramesses III.

After the sarcophagi had been installed in the burial chamber awaiting the future burial of the king, the missing door-jambs were restored. It appears that these elements were considered necessary features of the tomb's architecture. Many inscribed sandstone blocks and fragments of the same have been found in

the tomb, both stored in the room off the First Pillared Hall and in the passage beyond the sarcophagus chamber, as well as blocks and fragments found during clearing operations in the well shaft and the pit in the floor of the sarcophagus chamber (see below). These sandstone blocks were the replacements for the limestone door-jambs excised from the rock matrix. They are inscribed on their thicknesses and reveals with the names and titles of the king as well as texts referring to the king's relationship to various gods and his desired fate in the next world. Some of these blocks, particularly the larger ones that formed the bottoms of the jambs, have distinctive trapezoidal cavities cut into their tops (see pl. XVII). The narrower portions of these cuts are at the edges of the uninscribed rougher inner vertical surfaces of these blocks and widen toward the inscribed thicknesses. Similar cavities may be found in the bottoms of holes cut into the areas of the excised door-jambs in the corridors, there with the wider part set in from the face of the wall (see pl. XVI). A second form of alteration to the decorated wall surfaces of the tomb takes the form of pairs of holes cut into the walls of some of the corridors. These pairs of holes comprise one that is approximately square and one that is rectangular, the latter increasing in depth from the end closest to the tomb entrance to that farthest away. There are five pairs of these holes in Merenptah's tomb located at the tomb entrance, in the first corridor after the entrance, at the entry to the second corridor, the entry to the third corridor, and at the entry to the chamber between the first pillared hall and the sarcophagus chamber. In the third and fourth examples they are situated in the same location as the excised door-jambs and were cut into the wall subsequent to the removal of those jambs, with the rear part of the rectangular hole serving as the emplacement for the slot for the wooden clamp serving to hold in place the block replacing the jamb. It may be noted that in three instances, the pairs of holes were cut into decorated surfaces, either interrupting columns of text or cutting through decoration, as is the case with the fourth pair which break into the images of Isis and Nephthys kneeling on symbols for gold (see pl. XVI). The second pair of holes located in the walls of the first corridor after the entrance interrupts columns of text belonging to the *Litany of Rē*. Among the objects discovered in the clearance of the well shaft were several fragments of an inscribed limestone slab that continued the texts interrupted by the longer hole on the right, and which was probably inserted into this space after the purpose of this hole had been fulfilled.

It is generally acknowledged that these sets of holes were meant to receive horizontal wooden beams which would have been placed across the passage perpendicular to the axis of the tomb. One end of the beam would have been inserted into the square hole while the other end was moved into position in the opposite rectangular hole. When so placed, ropes were passed around the beam and attached to the sarcophagus further down the passage. By playing out these ropes the workmen installing the sarcophagus could use this simple windlass to control the descent of the sarcophagus into the tomb. The holes are formed so that a beam placed in them could only resist a force directed into the interior of the tomb. The tomb of Merenptah is unusual in the number of sets of holes for beams in its corridors, amounting to five pairs. The only other tomb in the Valley to



PLATE XVII (Above) Lintel of second doorway with text interrupted by jamb excision; (below) top of sandstone jamb replacement block showing socket for anchoring clamp.

approach this number is KV 14, made for Twosre and usurped by Setnakhte, which has four pairs of beam holes. The last two pairs are each located before the sloping entries leading to the two sarcophagus chamber floors, while the first two pairs occur in the second and third corridors, spaced approximately 10.2 m apart.

Destruction of the Sarcophagi

As has already been stated the two outer granite sarcophagus boxes had been completely smashed, although the lids that covered them were largely intact. However, the destruction of these sarcophagus boxes is not likely to have been the work of those who plundered the burial. Much effort would have been expended in this activity, effort of little purpose if the plundering of the burial were the purpose since prying off the lids of the sarcophagi would have provided access much more simply. In fact, the broken foot-end of the outer lid, as well as a series of nicks along its lower edge, points to this activity (and also demonstrates that the lid was once in position covering the box). The removal of the third granite sarcophagus for re-use in Tanis suggests one agency for the destruction of the two outer boxes which would have contained it. A second and perhaps subsequent reason for the destruction may be deduced from the lack of any fragments belonging to the floor of either box. This part of the sarcophagus was likely of substantial thickness and would have provided large blocks for re-use. Many of the sarcophagi in the Valley of the Kings have been subjected to similar destruction which seems to have been carried out to obtain large granite slabs most often from the floors of sarcophagus boxes. This seems to have been the case for the sarcophagus of Setnakhte, which, before its recent restoration, consisted of the overthrown lid and the floor of the box with many fragments which had been knocked off the sides and ends. This might also account for the present absence of a sarcophagus box of Sethos II and is the more likely explanation for the destruction of the granite outer sarcophagus of Ramesses VI.¹⁸ This is definitely in keeping with known practices in the Third Intermediate Period, in particular, when the re-utilization of earlier hard-stone monuments was not uncommon. Such a scenario of 'quarrying' the sarcophagi may also account for the position of the rectangular outer lid of Merenptah abandoned in the room above the sarcophagus chamber but perhaps intended for removal and re-use. The apparent removal of part of the travertine plinth from the floor pit of the sarcophagus chamber could also have been carried out at this time and would account for the apparent displaced position of the remaining slab. The extant beam holes could have readily been put to a new use again as emplacements for beams but this time to aid in hauling the massive blocks up out of the steep sloping passages of the tomb.

Clearance Work in the Tomb

As part of ongoing investigations of the sarcophagi of Merenptah and their placement in the tomb, permission was granted by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization for clearance to be carried out in 1987 and 1988 in two areas of the tomb. The first of these is the floor of the sarcophagus chamber around the modern base of limestone blocks which supports the second granite lid. The presence of a substantial travertine slab was noted on the floor below the foot end of the lid. Upon clearing down around the edges of this slab it was found to be a massive plinth some 60 cm in thickness and set into a depression carved into the floor. The end of this slab was inscribed with the titles and cartouches of Merenptah, and the sides bore representations of the rear feet of a funerary bier of leonine form. One corner had been broken away in antiquity, perhaps when the slab was being installed. Repairs in the form of sockets for dovetail clamps as well as holes for large dowels are visible on the edges and surfaces of the break both on the slab and on the actual corner fragment now stored in the nearby rear passage. The opposite end of this plinth is broken away, and it is presently not possible to say if the entire base was monolithic or composed of two or more blocks. The extant slab appears to have been shifted to some degree from what must have been its original position against the end of the pit, perhaps in preparation for its removal from the burial chamber. The sides of the pit in which it rests have been cut roughly vertical, but the end is irregular and not perpendicular to the sides as well as displaying substantial chipping along its upper edge. The area between the slab and the edges of the pit was filled with limestone chips and dirt, all apparently flood-deposited. In addition, several fragments of granite belonging to the sarcophagi, sandstone fragments from the blocks used to replace the door-jambs, and fragments of travertine belonging to both the innermost sarcophagus and to the canopic chest were discovered in the fill. In order to delineate further the extent of the pit further clearance was carried out near the head-end of the lid. Here the other two corners were first located and the opposite end of the pit exposed. Work then progressed toward the head-end of the lid which was temporarily supported with a hydraulic jack while some of the limestone corner blocks of the modern base were removed. It was seen that this modern base was set over a layer of modern debris overlying a layer of flood deposit filling the lower part of the pit. In this latter fill were found again fragments of sandstone door-jambs, granite fragments, and pieces of travertine belonging to the base, the innermost sarcophagus, and perhaps the canopic chest as well. Further clearing of the pit remains to be accomplished, no doubt yielding more of the same material.

The second area of clearance was the floor of the room before the first pillared hall where the so-called well or robbers' shaft is usually located. The likely presence of such a feature had been supposed by Thomas among others,¹⁹ and it also seemed a possible location for other sarcophagus fragments. After removal of the modern wood walkway, clearing began in approximate 1 m strips from front to back starting at the north wall and leaving a baulk to the south. The upper layer was composed of modern debris followed by layers of small-to-

The Tomb of Merenptah



PLATE XVIII (Above) Upper layers of fill in south third of well shaft; (below) inscribed sandstone jamb blocks emerging from upper layers of fill in south third of well shaft.

medium size limestone flakes and chips interspersed with larger pieces (see pl. XVIII). Some fragments of granite and travertine were discovered in these upper layers as well as pottery fragments, bits of glazed-ware artifacts, probably modern, and a rim fragment of a blue-glazed vessel bearing part of a cartouche, apparently the prenomen of either Amenophis III or Ramesses VI. A distinctive deposit of fine limestone chips was concentrated around the entry to the shaft room and continued down in this location for over a metre. At about 1 m in depth, several large granite fragments were found in front of the entry to the room and were seen to have been from the foot-end and corners of the second sarcophagus box. A sandstone block was also found a bit lower bearing the lower part of the hawk from the king's Horus name, and still retaining much of its painted detail. At a depth of approximately 120 cm several inscribed sandstone blocks were found near the north-east corner. Other examples of these blocks were found closer to the centre of the room, and, as clearing progressed toward the southwest, more of these began to appear in the south baulk. As this baulk was removed on proceeding eastward, the concentration of inscribed sandstone jamb blocks increased substantially (see pl. XVIII), culminating in the appearance of one large slab that formed the bottom of a jamb and had a length (or height) of between 128 and 132.5 cm (the variation being due to the sloping lower end of the block). As the clearance operation continued, fewer of these sandstone blocks were encountered, and the number of granite fragments diminished as well. In point of fact, after about 2.0 to 2.5 m, there was little in the way of stone artifacts. However, an increasing amount of wood fragments and charcoal began to be encountered, and between 3.75 and 4.0 m an occasional flake of uninscribed gold leaf was also found. One curious feature of the shaft that became increasingly evident as the clearing descended was the way that the dimensions from front to rear continued to decrease. The workmen who carved this feature, certainly after the sarcophagi were installed and perhaps even after the burial, had followed the sloping face of a crystalline calcite vein that runs perpendicular to the axis of the tomb. This vein can also be seen emerging from the south wall²⁰ of the first pillared hall, where it has been partly cut away, and along the east wall of the subsidiary room off the north side of this hall. For whatever reason, the workmen did not try to cut through this vein but excavated along its face. As a result, when the shaft was finally cleared to its bottom, some 5.2 m below the floor of the entry to the shaft room, the distance from front to back had narrowed to a little over 1 m. At this point it may not have been possible to continue cutting for lack of space, and the work ceased, to leave a peculiarly attenuated shaft of unusual form. Near the bottom of the shaft after at least 2 m of relatively sterile fill of limestone chips, a layer of what appeared to be *tafl* was encountered. Below this layer of some 10–20 cm in thickness were encountered several fragments of travertine belonging to the innermost sarcophagus. These several fragments found just above the floor of the shaft were of great importance in enabling the overall decorative scheme of the sarcophagus to be discerned. It can, therefore, be stated that the box of this anthropoid sarcophagus was decorated with the opening vignette or gateway of the *Book of Gates* on the exterior foot, with the first division of the text continuing along the left side toward the head. The fifth division of the *Imy-Duat*

ran along the exterior right side from head to foot. On the interior of the left side was inscribed the eighth division of the *Imy-Duat*. The seventh division of this text may have appeared on the right interior, although no fragments have as yet been positively identified displaying it. As has already been seen, a winged goddess, perhaps Isis, was shown kneeling on the sign for gold at the foot end interior. Some fragments with curved section displaying wing feathers have also been discovered, suggesting that a comparable figure, probably Nephthys, was located at the interior of the head end. The exterior of the lid had the eleventh division of the *Imy-Duat* on the left side, but the identity of the composition of the right side is not yet known. It is certainly noteworthy to see that the hypothesis for the decoration of the exterior of the box suggested by the British Museum fragment has been confirmed, and that the phenomenon peculiar to Merenptah's sarcophagi of the repetition of texts from one sarcophagus to another extends even further.

Conclusion

It may be seen from the preceding data that the present state of Merenptah's tomb has been influenced greatly by the activities connected with the installation of this king's sarcophagi and their subsequent plundering. The alterations of the tomb's architectural details and decoration also provide an interesting commentary on the apparent lack of coordination of information between those responsible for cutting the tomb and those commissioned to quarry the sarcophagi. It would be of some interest to imagine the confrontation between the overseers of the two groups when the discrepancies in the measurements were discovered. An additional datum possibly related to the incident is a text from the sandstone quarries of Gebel es-Silsila, dated to Merenptah's reign, and published by Champollion.²¹ Unfortunately, the regnal year is partially damaged, but the date has been read by both Černý and Caminos as year 2.²² The badly damaged text records an expedition by workmen of the tomb to extract sandstone blocks perhaps for use in the tomb. As the only attested use of sandstone here was to replace the door-jambs, it may have been the installation of the sarcophagi and the resultant removal of the decorated jambs that initiated this expedition. By extension, it can be deduced that the decoration of the tomb was well advanced by this time and certainly was completed as far as the first pillared hall. The fact that no door-jambs were cut back from the exit of Room H to the entry to the sarcophagus chamber, while the jambs of the entry to Room H were excised, may indicate that at least the cutting of the passages and doorways at their original dimensions had reached Room H when the sarcophagi were brought into the tomb.

Whether the travertine plinth had already been installed at this point depends, in part, on whether or not it was a monolithic slab or made up of two or more blocks. If it was a monolith, its introduction would have had the same effect as that of the installation of the sarcophagi.²³ It could even be argued that in such a case, it was the installation of the monolithic plinth and not the sarcophagi

which necessitated the removal of the jambs, since it would have been introduced first. However, if the sloping ends of the pit in the floor of the sarcophagus chamber were created to facilitate the emplacement of the plinth, this suggests that this structure was made up of at least two blocks, one being installed from each end. It also could have been the case that the floor pit was excavated after the plinth slab or slabs had been brought into the sarcophagus chamber and shunted to either end of the room, as manoeuvring them into the chamber would have been complicated by the existence of a pit in the floor.

While it is not possible at present to say what arrangement was made for placing the sarcophagus lids on their respective boxes, some provision for their storage until the king's burial must have been made. Certainly they would have been brought in separated from the boxes. It further seems likely that the boxes would have been installed already set one within the other, as room to manoeuvre them into position would have been lacking in the sarcophagus chamber. How they were actually placed together is not yet known.

The subsequent destruction and removal of the sarcophagi or parts thereof also had an effect on the present state of the tomb. In large part this was brought about by the filling-in of the well-shaft. Examination of the shaft fill has shown that it was not a result of the deposition of flood debris. The laminated stratification of alternating layers of fine and coarse dirt and stone chips, seen, for example, in the corner rooms of the sarcophagus chamber and the two rooms behind it, was absent in the shaft fill. This fill was characterized by a combination of limestone chips, flakes, and irregular blocks, as well as flint boulders. There were definite tip lines toward the corners of the shaft from the entry, as would be the case if debris from outside the tomb was carried in and dumped into the shaft. Furthermore, the deposits of sandstone blocks to the sides of the shaft in the upper levels of the fill also suggest a purposeful human agency. The reason for filling the shaft seems probably to have been for the removal of some heavy object from within the tomb, most likely the granite sarcophagus re-used in the burial of Psusennes I at Tanis. Whether this was carried out in the reign of Psusennes or at some time earlier (or even at his death) cannot yet be determined, but the period of his reign or its termination does present a working hypothesis. It then would have been only a matter of time before others began quarrying the sarcophagus boxes, perhaps at some later date in the Third Intermediate Period or even after.

After the well-shaft had been filled in and quarrying activities begun, but before either of the two lids or the remaining slab of the plinth could be removed, a flooding event or perhaps a series of them took place that eventually closed off access to the lower part of the tomb. Since this deposited material was removed by Carter without a record of its composition or contents, little can now be said with regard to the possible chronology of the flooding. Perhaps the investigation of the remaining flood debris in the corner chambers and the rooms to the rear of the sarcophagus chamber might yield some information, particularly if some sort of geological study could determine the number, if not the dates, of these floods. Although there are always problems in elucidating chronological evidence from intrusive materials, some data providing *termini a quo* and *ad quem* could be obtained. Of course, there would be the added incentive of the possible remains

of some original burial equipment which would give some idea as to the uses these rooms were put to in the burial ritual.

Useful information may thus be gained from the careful examination of even such relatively meagre remains as those found in the tomb of Merenptah. This is the case as well for other tombs in the Valley of the Kings, even those supposedly long-ago cleared and opened to tourists, such as that of Rameses VI. Other tombs still await careful clearing and examination although long known to the scholarly world. In many ways it is fortunate that they have been left relatively untouched until now. The frustration felt for the information previously lost only adds to the responsibility and need for careful investigation and recording of the information yet available before the opportunity is gone. These concerns should influence our future exploration of this site.

Notes

- 1 This tomb plan and section is derived from a preliminary effort of the Berkeley Theban Mapping Project, made in 1979. I wish to express my thanks to Dr Kent Weeks, director of the project, for permission to use this plan.
- 2 Cf. E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 108, 123 n. 63 for references.
- 3 PM I, ii², 507.
- 4 H. Carter, 'The Tomb of Merenptah', *ASAE* 6 (1905), 116–9.
- 5 Thomas, op. cit. 108–10. A recent brief description of the tomb appears in a study of this king's monuments with citations of relevant literature. H. Sourouzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah* (Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 22), (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), 176–80.
- 6 Identification courtesy of Dr Barbara Greene Aston. On this material, cf. A. Lucas (4th edn., rev., enl. by J. R. Harris) *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1962), 59.
- 7 I will use throughout the number system of the divisions of this composition published by A. Piankoff and Ch. Maystre, *Le Livre des portes*, I–III, (Memoires 64, 65, 90) (Cairo, 1939–62); and Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (Bollingen Series, 40, Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, vol. 1) (New York, 1954). This opening motif, whether in its abbreviated or more elaborate form accompanied by the doorleaf with guardian serpent, may be seen as a variant of the gateway motif and as such the first gateway of this composition, *pace* E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 8) (Geneva, 1980), 23–5.
- 8 On this text, see J. Assmann, 'Die Inschrift auf dem äusseren Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah', *MDAIK* 28(1972), 47–73; id., 'Neith spricht als Mutter und Sarg', *MDAIK* 28(1973), 115–39.
- 9 Cf. Piankoff and Maystre, op. cit., I, 3, fig. 2.
- 10 Traces of similar drilled slots, in a more incomplete state, may be seen on the upper edges of the head- and foot-ends and right side of the third granite sarcophagus box described below. The surfaces of these edges are completely flat horizontal planes without projecting ridge. The lower edges of the accompanying lid are also flat and do not exhibit any traces of drilled slots.
- 11 P. Montet, *Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psusennes Ier à Tanis* (La Nécropole royale de Tanis, t. 3) (Paris, 1951), 111–26.
- 12 Montet believed that this sarcophagus was originally placed in a cenotaph of Mer-

- enptah at Per-Ramesses (ibid.). Sourouzian has recently suggested that its original location may have been on the central 'island' of the pillared hall of the Sethos I cenotaph at Abydos, op. cit. 183–4.
- 13 On a possible symbolic significance of this motif on sarcophagi, cf. H. Kees, 'Die 15 Scheintüren am Grabmal', *ZÄS* 88 (1963), 97–113.
 - 14 For references cf. H. Willems, *Chests of Life* (Ex Oriente Lux, Leiden, 1988), 141–64. See also, W. Waitkus, 'Zur Deutung einiger apotropäischer Götter in der Gräbern im Tal der Königinnen und im Grab Ramses III.', *GM* 99 (1987), 51–82.
 - 15 Willems, op. cit. 175–86, 200–28.
 - 16 British Museum EA 49739.
 - 17 Thomas, op. cit. 109, 123 n. 80.
 - 18 This is more likely the explanation for the destruction of the outer box of Ramesses VI. Close examination of the edges of the broken halves along the floor of the box reveals traces of regular shallow indentations as from the action of repeated hammering. Certainly Aldred's scenario for the destruction is less likely (see C. Aldred, 'More Light on the Ramesside Tomb Robberies', in J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa and Kenneth A. Kitchen (eds.), *Orbis Aegyptiorum Speculum, Glimpses of Ancient Egypt, Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 92–9).
 - 19 Thomas, op. cit. 108. On this feature in general see *Die sogenannten Grabräuberschächte in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. F. Abitz, bis 2. Die religiöse Bedeutung der Dynastie*, (*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 26) J. Wiesbaden, Harrossowitz), 1974.
 - 20 Certainly not silex or flint, as described by J. Černý, *The Valley of the Kings* (Cairo, 1973), 10, 18.
 - 21 J. F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, II (Paris, 1814), pl. 114.
 - 22 Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Bibliothèque d'étude at 50) (Cairo, 1973), 1.
 - 23 It may be that in year 7 this artifact and the sarcophagi as well were introduced into the tomb. Such is the apparent activity described in Cairo Ostrakon 25504, cf. D. Valbelle, *Les Ouvriers de la Tombe* (Bibliothèque d'étude 96) (Cairo, 1985), 177–8.

Bemerkungen zu den neu gefundenen Daten im Grab der Königin Twosre (KV 14) im Tal der Könige von Theben

HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER

Einleitung

Das Grab der Königin Twosre (KV 14) ist eine der ungewöhnlichen Grabanlagen im Tal der Könige von Theben und dies vornehmlich aus den folgenden Gründen:

- (a) Es ist das bisher einzige, sicher belegte Königinnengrab im Tal der Könige, wenn man vom Grab der Ḥatschepsut (KV 20) absieht.
- (b) Es ist mit Über 112 m Gesamtlänge eine der größten königlichen Grabanlagen des Neuen Reiches.¹
- (c) Die Dekoration des Grabes weist einen hervorragenden Erhaltungszustand auf.

Die Architektur und die Dekoration des Grabes werden seit 1983 durch Mitglieder des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Hamburg mit finanzieller Unterstützung durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft untersucht und sind Bestandteil einer umfangreichen Dokumentation.² Die Arbeiten stehen nun kurz vor dem Abschluß. Im folgenden werden Probleme erörtert, die mit den Daten zusammenhängen, die während der Arbeiten in der Grabanlage der Königin Twosre entdeckt worden sind.³ Vor der eigentlichen Auswertung der Daten wird eine Analyse des Baubefunds von KV 14 gegeben. Anschließend werden die im Grab erhaltenen Daten einzeln besprochen und mit den externen Daten der gleichen Zeit verglichen. Abschließend soll auf die Relevanz der Daten für eine Interpretation der Architektur und der Dekoration der Grabanlage eingegangen werden.

Die Beschreibung der Grabanlage

Das Vorbild für die Grabanlage der Twosre ist eine königliche Grabanlage. Die Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede zu einem traditionellen Königsgrab vom Ende der 19. Dynastie zeigen sich beim Vergleich mit dem Grundriß des annähernd zeitgleichen Grabes des Siptah (KV 47):⁴

(1) Das Grab der Königin Twosre besteht aus zwei großen Raumsystemen, 'A'-'J' und 'K'-'L', mit jeweils einer Pfeilerhalle. Die Pfeilerhallen 'J' und 'L' sind als Sarkophaghallen konzipiert und dekoriert.

(2) Endpunkt des vorderen Raumsystems ist die Sarkophaghalle 'J'. Dieses vordere Raumsystem entspricht im wesentlichen der verkleinerten Kopie eines Königsgrabes einschließlich eines oberen und unteren Grabbereichs und weist eine Gesamtlänge von 60,31 m auf. Der obere Grabbereich ('A'-'E') besitzt 3 Korridore ('A'-'C'), einen sog. Schachtraum ('D') und eine daran anschließende Halle ('E'), von der aus es in den unteren Grabbereich abgeht. Der untere Grabbereich ('F'-'J') enthält 2 Korridore ('F' und 'H'), einen Vorraum zur Sarkophaghalle ('I') und die Pfeilerbestandene Sarkophaghalle ('J'), an die 4 kleine Eckräume anschließen.

(3) Auf dieses erste Raumsystem folgt ein zweites von 52,08 m Länge. Die Korridore und Räume sind hier größer dimensioniert als im vorderen Raumsystem.

(4) Die unterschiedlichen Dimensionen der beiden Raumsysteme 'A'-'J' und 'K'-'L' lassen sich an den Kantenmaßen der Pfeiler der vorderen Sarkophaghalle 'J' und der hinteren Sarkophaghalle 'L' ablesen. Die Pfeiler der Sarkophaghalle 'J' im vorderen Grabbereich besitzen eine Kantenlänge zwischen 61 und 94 cm und bleiben damit deutlich unter den sonst üblichen 'königlichen' Pfeilermaßen von 2 Ellen, d.h. von 105 cm, die z.B. noch unter Ramesses IX. gelten. Die Pfeiler des hinteren Grabsystems und der Sarkophaghalle 'L' dagegen weisen die geforderten 'königlichen' Maße von 2 Ellen auf.⁵

Die notwendigen Schlußfolgerungen aus diesem ungewöhnlichen Befund sind seit langem gezogen worden. Im allgemeinen wird zwischen einem 'nichtköniglichen' Raumsystem mit der Sarkophaghalle 'J' und einem 'königlichen' Raumsystem mit der Sarkophaghalle 'L' unterschieden. Das 'nichtkönigliche' Raumsystem wird dabei der Königin Twosre aus der 19. Dynastie, das andere dem König Setnakhte vom Beginn der 20. Dynastie zugesprochen.⁶

Die Zuschreibung der Sarkophaghalle 'L' an Setnakhte ist jedoch äußerst schwach begründet. Sie stützt sich hauptsächlich auf die Tatsache, daß der hintere Grabbereich in 'königlichen' Maßen ausgeführt worden ist, sowie auf den Umstand, daß sich dort der Steinsarkophag des Setnakhte befindet. Bei näherer Betrachtung erweist sich nämlich die Verteilung der beiden Raumsysteme auf zwei königliche Bauherren als unwahrscheinlich, ja sogar als unmöglich:

(1) Gegen die Annahme, daß das hintere Raumsystem von Setnakhte geschaffen worden ist, spricht an erster Stelle die kurze Dauer der Regierung des Setnakhte und die von ihm während dieser Zeit erbrachten sonstigen Bauleistungen. Setnakhte hat aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach nicht mehr als 3 Jahre regiert.⁷ Während dieser Zeit hat er für sich in KV 11, dem späteren Grab Ramesses III., eine großzügige Grabanlage geschaffen. Bei seinem Tod waren dort mindestens 4 Korridore und möglicherweise auch der sog. Schachtraum fertig gestellt. Die

Kartuschen des Setnakhte sind noch heute unter dem Putz von Ramesses III. im östlichen Türgewände (26) beim Übergang von Raum 'N' nach Korridor 'O' zu erkennen.⁸ Es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, daß Setnakhte zusätzlich zu den Arbeiten in KV 11 weitere Arbeiten im Grab der Königin Twosre (KV 14) hat ausführen lassen.

(2) Die Annahme, daß das hintere und in 'königlichen Maßen' angelegte Raumsystem auf Setnakhte zurückgeht, kann schließlich durch die Art und die Auswahl der für die Sarkophagahalle 'L' bestimmten Dekoration widerlegt werden. Beide Sarkophaghallen 'J' und 'L' weisen hinsichtlich ihres Bild- und Textprogramms eine Fülle von Überschneidungen auf, die eigentlich nur damit erklärt werden können, daß beiden Sarkophaghallen eine gleiche Textplanung zugrunde lag. So zeigt z.B. der in 'L' angebrachte Text der 9. Stunde des Pfortenbuchs eine unmittelbare Abhängigkeit des Pfortenbuchtextes von der Version des gleichen Textes in der Sarkophaghalle 'J' bis ins kleinste Detail.

Besonders wichtig in diesem Zusammenhang ist ein Textzusatz am Ende der 58. Szene der 9. Stunde des *Pfortenbuches*, der nur in den Versionen von 'J' und 'L' belegt ist. Beide Versionen fügen gegen die sonstige Überlieferung des Textes als einzige Textzeugen einen Zusatz ein, der mit einer Königskartusche verbunden ist.⁹ Der in diese Königskartusche eingeschriebene Name fehlt zwar in 'J' und in 'L'. Eine Überprüfung ergibt jedoch, daß der Name in beiden Texten ursprünglich ausgeführt worden war und erst nachträglich durch überschmieren mit Stuck getilgt wurde.

Das Entfernen des ursprünglich in der Kartusche eingeschriebenen Königsnamens ist nur dann sinnvoll, wenn angenommen wird, daß die ältere Kartusche im Zuge einer Namensänderung oder einer Usurpation neu beschriftet werden sollte. Ein solches Verfahren ist im vorderen Grabsystem der Anlage der Twosre häufig belegt und dort als Namensänderung mit Twosre nach Antritt ihrer Alleinherrschaft und als Usurpation mit dem Namen des Setnakhte verbunden. Im hinteren Grabsystem dagegen ist eine solche Usurpation bisher nicht beobachtet worden.

(3) Aus den genannten beiden Gründen besteht daher Anlaß zu der Vermutung, daß nicht nur das vordere 'nichtkönigliche' Grabsystem, sondern auch das hintere 'königliche' Grabsystem durch Setnakhte oder für Setnakhte usurpiert worden ist. Beide Grabsysteme müßten dann ursprünglich auf Twosre zurückgehen. Dies wird zur Gewißheit durch den Fund einer Kartusche der Twosre im hinteren Grabbereich. Bei der Überprüfung der Inschriften auf den Türpfosten der beiden Korridore des hinteren Grabbereichs und des Eingangs zur Sarkophaghalle 'L' konnten in Kartuschen eingeschriebene Königsnamen gefunden werden, die nachträglich mit Stuck überschmiert worden sind. In einem dieser Kartuschenringe, und zwar bei dem auf dem südlichen Türpfosten beim Durchgang von 'K2' zu 'L', konnte der Thronname der Twosre (*s3t-R' mrjyt n Jmn*) entdeckt werden (Abb. 16). Der Name hat deutliche Abdrücke im Stuck hinterlassen. Charakteristische Zeichen wie das 'Ei' für *s3t* in *s3t-R'* sind an der Oberfläche

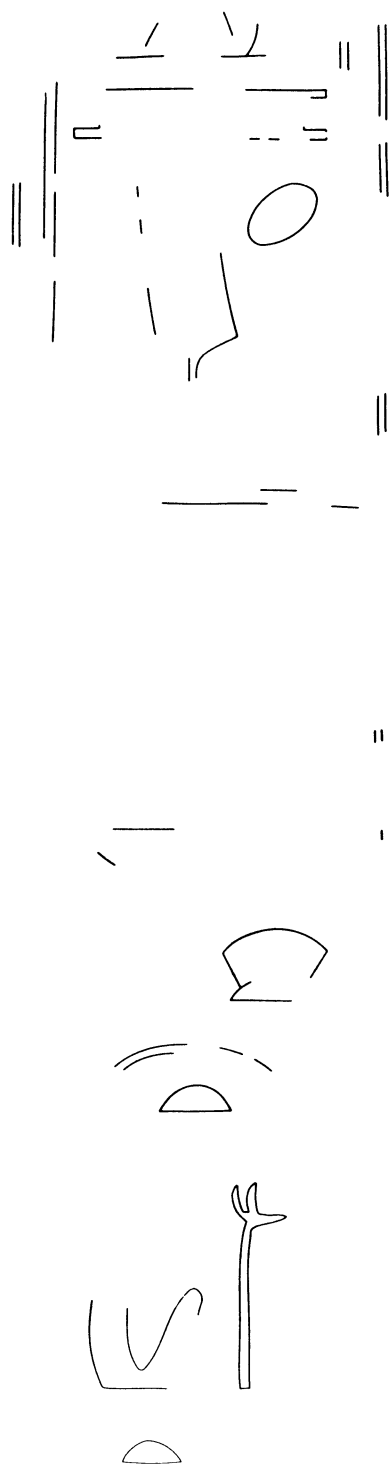


Abb. 16 Die Kartusche der Königin Twosre auf dem Türpfosten des Durchgangs von 'K2' nach 'L', Südseite.

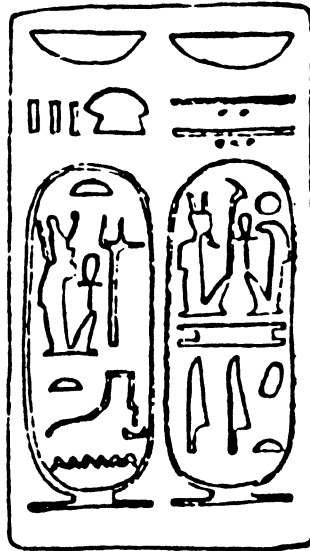


Abb. 17 Die Kartuschen der Königin Twosre aus ihrem Totentempel in Theben.

sichtbar (vgl. Abb. 17). Aus diesem Befund geht eindeutig hervor, daß auch der hintere Teil des Grabes als Bauleistung der Twosre anzusehen ist. Damit darf zugleich als erwiesen gelten, daß die gesamte Grabanlage mit ihrem vorderen 'nichtköniglichen' und ihrem hinteren 'königlichen' Grabsystem in die Zeit der Twosre gehört und daß die fertig gestellte Grabanlage erst sekundär für Setnakhte übernommen wurde.

Wird nach diesem ersten Ergebnis unserer Untersuchungen, daß nämlich die gesamte Grabanlage von KV 14 für Twosre bestimmt gewesen ist, der Gesamtplan des Grabes noch einmal im Detail betrachtet, zeigen sich weitere Einschnitte und Brüche (Abb. 18):

(1) Ein erster Bruch liegt im vorderen 'nichtköniglichen' Raumsystem ('A'-'J') am Ende des 2. Korridors, kurz vor dem Übergang zum 3. Korridor bei 'B'/'C'. Dort weicht die Ost-West-Achse des Grabes nach Süden ab. Die Süd-Abweichung beträgt $1,5^\circ$.¹⁰ Sie ergibt eine Neuorientierung des Grabes.

(2) Eine ähnliche Abweichung der Grabachse ist im hinteren 'königlichen' Raumsystem ('K'-'L') zu erkennen. Dort ist beim Übergang vom 1. zum 2. Korridor 'K1'/'K2' eine Nord-Abweichung der Ost-West-Achse des Grabes um $2,5^\circ$ zu beobachten.¹¹ Die Abweichung aus der Ost-West-Achse ergibt auch hier eine Neuorientierung des letzten Grababschnitts.

Versteht man die Einschnitte am Bau jeweils als Abschluß eines Bauabschnitts, lassen sich insgesamt 4 Bauphasen unterscheiden.

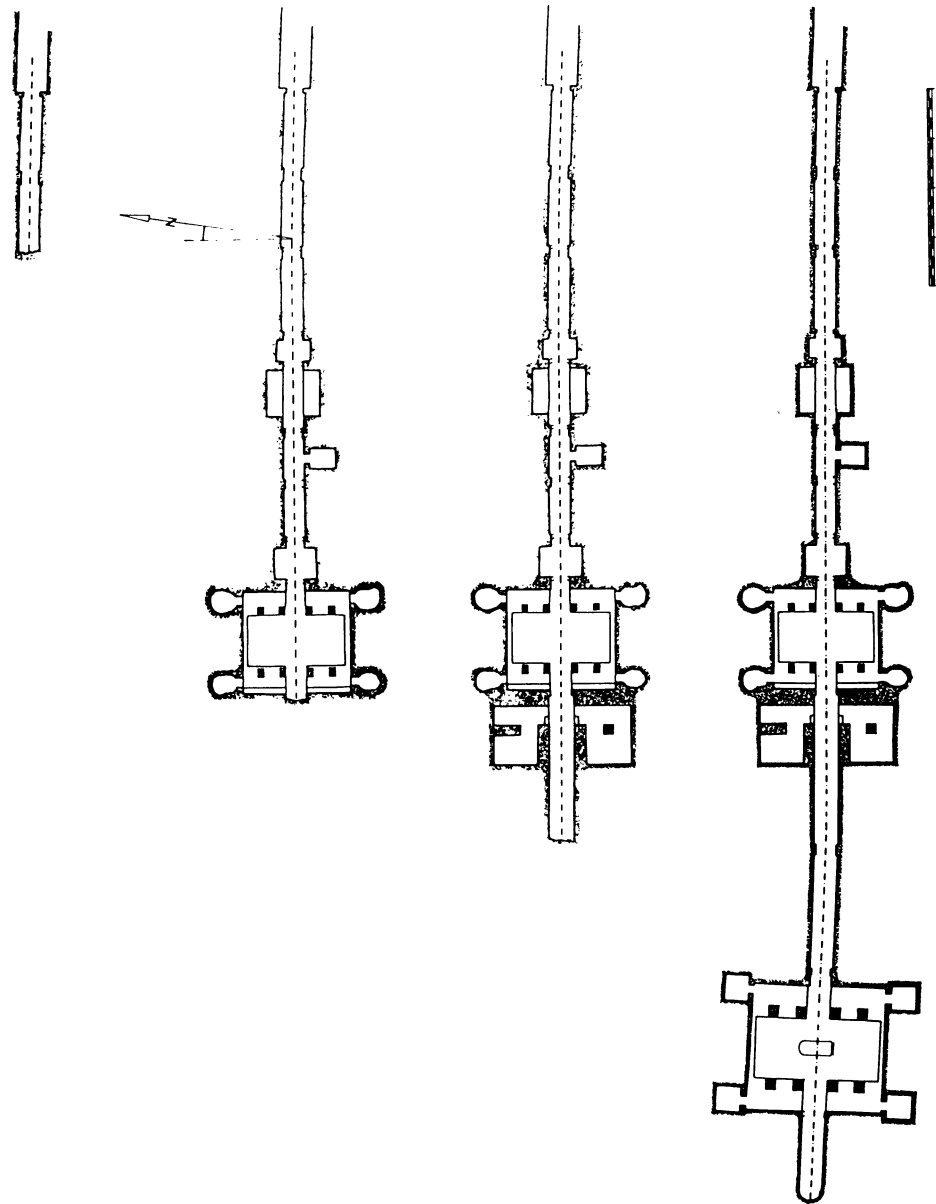


Abb. 18 Die Bauphasen des Grabes in ihrer zeitlichen Abfolge.

1. Bauphase: Beginn mit dem Grabbau und Erreichen des 1. und 2. Korridors ('A'–'B').
2. Bauphase: Fortsetzung des Grabbaus vom 3. Korridor bis zur Sarkophaghalle 'J' des nichtköniglichen Grabsystems.
3. Bauphase: Beginn mit den Arbeiten an Raum 'Ka/Kb' hinter der Sarkophaghalle 'J'.
4. Bauphase: Aufgabe des Raums 'Ka/Kb' und Neukonzeption der Sarkophaghalle 'L' mit vorgelagerten Korridoren 'K1'/'K2'.

Diese beim Grabbau erkennbaren Einschnitte können nun mit den Daten aus dem Grab der Twosre verglichen werden. Da alle Daten mit fest determinierten Bauabschnitten verbunden sind, ergibt sich durch sie die einmalige Möglichkeit, die Arbeitsstufen während des Grabbaus zeitlich genau zu bestimmen:

Folgende Daten sind erhalten:

1. Ein Graffito über dem Eingang des Grabes aus der Regierung des Siptah. Es legt den Begräbnistag Sethos II. auf das 1. Jahr III. Monat der *pṛt*-Jahreszeit, Tag 11 fest.
2. Zwei Graffiti in 'Ka/Kb' mit zwei Daten. Das eine Datum nennt ein 6. Jahr und II. Monat einer unbestimmten Jahreszeit, das andere gibt ein exaktes Datum vom 18. Tag in einem 6. Jahr II. Monat der *3ḥt*-Jahreszeit an.
3. Zwei Graffiti aus Korridor K2. Sie geben das Datum eines III. Monats der *3ḥt*-Jahreszeit Tag 4 und Tag 6, ohne Spezifizierung eines Regierungsjahres.
4. Ein Graffito aus dem gleichen Korridor K2 vom 1. Jahr III. Monat der *šmw*-Jahreszeit, Tag 3.

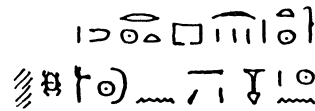
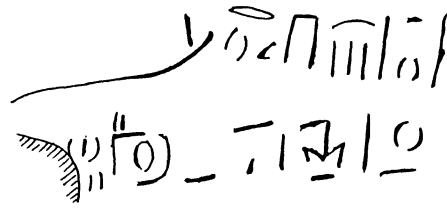
Diese im Grab gefundenen Graffiti werden im folgenden diskutiert. Es wird dabei der Versuch unternommen, sie mit externen Daten aus der Geschichte der ausgehenden 19. Dynastie zu konfrontieren und die Daten aus dem Grab in ihren jeweiligen historischen Kontext zu stellen.

Die Daten im Grab der Königin Twosre

1. Das Graffito über dem Eingang des Grabes der Twosre (Abb. 19)

Dieses Graffito wurde erstmals in der Fs Helck¹² vorgestellt. Es bezieht sich auf das 1. Jahr, den III. Monat der *pṛt*-Jahreszeit, Tag 11 der Regierung des Siptah und benennt den Begräbnistag Sethos II.

Das Datum paßt bestens zu den bisher bekannten Daten im Umfeld des Todestages Sethos II. aus dem 6. Jahr von dessen Regierung. oCG 25.515 berichtet, daß über den Tod Sethos II. die Arbeiterschaft von Theben am I. *pṛt*, Tag 19 des 1. Jahres des Siptah unterrichtet wurde.¹³ Andere Daten legen den Thronbesteigungstag des Siptah — und indirekt damit auch den Todestag Sethos II. — in den Zeitraum



"Jahr 1, III. prt, Tag 11

Tag des Begrabens von (*Wsr-hprw-R^o*
[*mrj-jmn*]) ."

Abb. 19 Das Begräbnisdatum Sethos II. über dem Grabeingang.

zwischen dem IV. *3ht*, Tag 28 (oCG 25.537)¹⁴ und dem I. *prt*, Tag 4 (oCG 25.521,5).¹⁵

Das neu gefundene Datum liegt 68 bis 75 Tage nach dem bisher für den Todestag eingegrenzten Zeitraum. Da 70 Tage als Mindestfrist für die Vorbereitungen für ein königliches Begräbnis angesehen werden, kann die Zeitspanne für den Todestag nunmehr auf den Zeitraum vom IV. *3ht* 28 bis zum I. *prt* 2 weiter eingengt werden.

Die eigentliche Bedeutung des Datums beruht nun aber nicht auf der damit möglich gewordenen näheren Bestimmung des Todestages Sethos II., sondern in seinem Bezug auf den Grabbau der Twosre. Das Datum ist über dem Eingang des Grabes angebracht worden. Sein Anbringungsort legt nahe, daß zum Zeitpunkt des Begräbnisses Sethos II. an dieser Stelle bereits ein Grabeingang bestanden hat. Dieser kann nach Lage der Dinge nur das Grab der Königin Twosre gewesen sein. Das Grab dieser Königin muß daher bereits unter Sethos II. begonnen worden sein.

Eine solche Annahme steht nun aber im Widerspruch zu oKairo JE 72.452.¹⁶ Dieses Ostrakon gibt exakt den Tag an, an dem mit den Arbeiten am Grab der Twosre begonnen wurde, und datiert den Baubeginn auf den I. *prt*, Tag 8 eines 2. Jahres einer Regierung,¹⁷ die gewöhnlich mit der des Siptah verbunden wird.¹⁸

Nach dem Fund des Graffito über dem Eingang von KV 14 wird die Datierung des oKairo JE 72.452 in das 2. Jahr des Siptah recht unsicher¹⁹ und die von E. Thomas vertretene Datierung in die Zeit Sethos II. gewinnt an Wahrscheinlichkeit.²⁰

Erst W. Helck ist es jedoch gelungen, die bisherige Datierung in die Zeit des Siptah an den Fundamenten zu erschüttern und es überzeugend in die Zeit Sethos II. zu datieren.

In einer Untersuchung von oKairo JE 72.452²¹ hat W. Helck die dort erhaltenen Daten mit denen von zwei anderen Ostraka verglichen (Abb. 20). Die zum Vergleich herangezogenen Ostraka sind sicher in die Regierung des Siptah datiert. Es sind dies die Absentenliste von oCG 25.521,²² in der Personennamen aus der Regierung des Siptah aufgeführt werden, und die Lampenausgabeliste von oCG 25.536,²³ in der über den Baufortschritt in einem Königsgrab berichtet wird. Beide Ostraka behandeln den gleichen Zeitraum wie das fragliche oKairo JE 72.452 und benennen beide die Tage, an denen im I. Monat der *pṛt*-Jahreszeit eines 2. Jahres gearbeitet wurde.

Der Vergleich der Ostraka läßt erkennen, daß die Arbeitstage von oKairo JE 72.452 einerseits und die der beiden oCG 25.521 und 25.536 andererseits nicht übereinstimmen und daß die zum Vergleich herangezogenen und mit Sicherheit in die Zeit des Siptah zu datierenden Ostraka oCG 25.521 und 25.536 nicht den gleichen Zeitraum abdecken wie das Ostrakon JE 72.452. oKairo JE 72.452 kann aus diesem Grund nicht in die Zeit des Siptah gehören, sondern muß in die Zeit Sethos II. umdatiert werden. Das Grab der Königin Twosre kann folglich auch nicht erst im 2. Jahr des Siptah begonnen worden sein, der Beginn der Arbeiten muß bereits unter Sethos II. erfolgt sein.

Durch die Neudatierung des oKairo JE 72.452 in die Zeit Sethos II. löst sich der vermeintliche Widerspruch zum Graffito über dem Grabeingang der Twosre zwar auf. Doch ergibt sich ein neues Problem durch den Hiat von mindestens vier Jahren, der nunmehr zwischen dem Baubeginn im 2. Jahr Sethos II. und der Dekoration des Grabes unter Siptah angesetzt werden muß. Die Schwierigkeiten bestehen hauptsächlich darin, daß die Thematik und die Darstellungen der ersten Korridore nicht den König Sethos II. berücksichtigen, sondern sich ausschließlich auf Twosre und Siptah beziehen. Die beigeschriebenen Kartuschen weisen zwar heute das Bild des dargestellten Königs als das von Sethos II. aus, doch sind die Kartuschen Sethos II. eindeutig nachträglich über die älteren Namensringe des Siptah gesetzt. Eine Umkehrung der Verhältnisse ist nicht möglich.

Das Problem des Hiats zwischen dem Baubeginn des Grabes im 2. Jahr Sethos II. und der Aufnahme der Grabdekoration erst am Beginn der Regierung des Siptah kann vorerst nicht gelöst werden. Der beträchtliche Zeitraum von mindestens 4 Jahren zwischen Bau und Dekoration ist aber nur dann zu verstehen, wenn man annimmt, daß sämtliche Arbeiten am Grab aus bisher ungeklärten Gründen für einen längeren Zeitraum geruht haben.

2. Die beiden Graffiti in Ka/Kb (Abb. 21–22)

Die in sehr großen Schriftzügen geschriebenen beiden Graffiti wurden von R. Caminos in den beiden Räumen 'Ka/Kb' westlich von der Sarkophaghalle 'J' entdeckt und sind von Gardiner, 'The Tomb of Queen Twosre', *JEA* 40 (1954), 43, veröffentlicht worden. Caminos und Gardiner haben die beiden Graffiti in ein Jahr 7 und ein Jahr 6 datiert und folgendermaßen gelesen:²⁴ *südliches Graffito:*

oKairo JE 72452 (KRI IV, 404)		oCG 25521, rt. oCG 25521, vs. oCG 25536 KRI IV, 397 KRI IV, 400 KRI IV, 402		
Year 2, I prt				
Day 1				
Day 2				
Day 3				
Day 4		work	work	work
Day 5		work	work	work
Day 6		work		work
Day 7				
Day 8	Start of work			
Day 9	day off			
Day 10	day off			
Day 11	work	work	work	work
Day 12	[day off]	work		work
Day 13	[day off]	work	[work]?	work
Day 14	work			
Day 15	day off	work		work
Day 16	work ?			
Day 17	[day off]	work	work	work
Day 18	day off	work	work	work
Day 19	day off			
Day 20	day off			
Day 21	work	work	work	
Day 22	work			
Day 23	day off		work	
Day 24	day off			
Day 25	[?]	[work]		work
Day 26	work	work		End of text
Day 27	work	work	work	
Day 28	[]			
Day 29	[]			
Day 30	day off			
Year 2 II prt				
Day 1	?			
Day 2	?			
Day 3	lacuna			
Day 4				
Day 5		work		
Day 6		work		
Day 7		End of text	work End of text	

Abb. 20 Die Arbeitstage nach oKairo JE 72.452 und oCG 25.521 und oCG 25.536.

Jahr 6, II. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ t, Tag 18; *nördliches Graffito*: Jahr 7, II. Monat. . .

Eine Überprüfung der beiden Graffiti in 'Ka/Kb' hat nun aber für das nördliche Graffito in 'Kb' (Abb. 22) eine neue, verbesserte Lesung ergeben:

- (a) Statt Jahr 7 ist Jahr 6 zu lesen. Es bleibt das Problem, daß die oberen Zahlzeichen enger gesetzt sind als die unteren Zahlzeichen.
- (b) Das Datum ist unvollständig, aber nicht fragmentarisch erhalten. Die Bezeichnung der Jahreszeit und alles weitere fehlt. Der Abbruch der Niederschrift ist vielleicht damit zu erklären, daß sich die volle Form des Datums erübrigt hat, weil das gleiche Datum gleichzeitig in der südlichen Kammer angebracht wurde.

Beide Daten bezeichnen vermutlich den gleichen Tag. Das dann für beide Räume geltende Datum aus dem 6. Jahr, II. Monat der 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ t-Jahreszeit, Tag 18 gibt mehrere Fragen auf:

1. Welche Funktion sollte der unfertig gebliebene Raum 'K' erfüllen?
2. Auf welchen Herrscher ist das Datum zu beziehen?
3. Aus welchem Anlaß wurde das Datum an die Wände des Raumes gebracht?

Unter diesen drei Fragen ist die erste nach der Funktion des unfertigen Raumes als einzige problemlos zu beantworten:

Raum 'K' ist eine unvollendete Sarkophaghalle (Abb. 23). Darauf haben bereits R. Drenkhahn,²⁵ E. Hornung²⁶ und F. Abitz²⁷ zu Recht verwiesen. Wichtig dabei ist, daß Raum 'K' zum hinteren 'königlichen' Raumsystem gehört. Die Maße dieses Raumes entsprechen in Breite und Tiefe den Maßen der späteren Sarkophaghalle 'L'. Aus diesem Umstand hat R. Drenkhahn dann auch geschlossen, daß Raum 'K' für einen regierenden König geplant worden sein muß und weiter, daß dieser König nur Twosre gewesen sein kann ('Sie nimmt die Königstitulatur an . . . und läßt die Grabanlage erweitern (Korridor K mit Seitenkammern hinter der Sarkophaghalle J). Gleichzeitig damit ist der Baubeginn ihres Totentempels anzusetzen.')²⁸

Diese richtige Schlußfolgerung kann heute weiter präzisiert werden. Weil nicht nur Raum 'K', sondern auch die königliche Sarkophaghalle 'L' für Twosre angelegt worden ist, dürfen wir annehmen, daß die unfertige Sarkophaghalle 'K' nicht die Endstufe der Bauleistungen der Twosre darstellt. Sie ist die 'erste Fassung' einer königlichen Sarkophaghalle, die im Zuge einer Erweiterung des ursprünglichen Königinnengrabes zu einem realen Königsgrab geplant und anschließend wieder verworfen worden ist.

Aus dieser Erkenntnis leitet sich die zweite Frage ab: Sind die Daten auf Twosre als allein regierende Königin zu beziehen oder auf die Zeit der Regierung des Siptah? Zu welchem Zeitpunkt wurde die Erweiterung des Königinnengrabes geplant?

- (a) A. H. Gardiner hat, nicht zuletzt wegen des von R. Caminos gelesenen 'Jahr

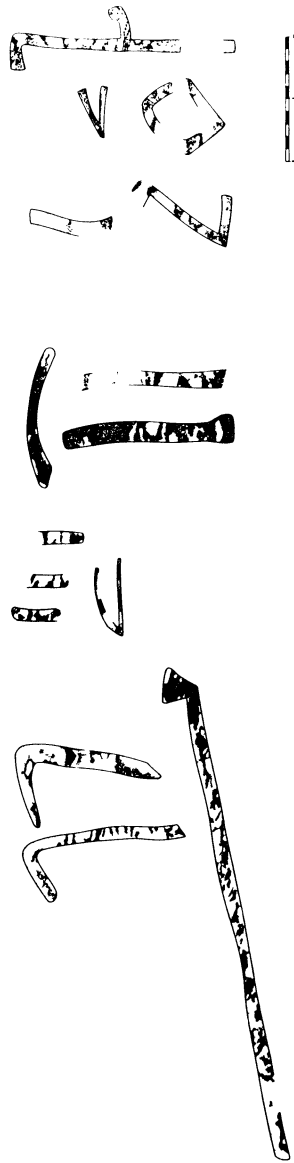


Abb. 21 Graffito in 'Ka'.

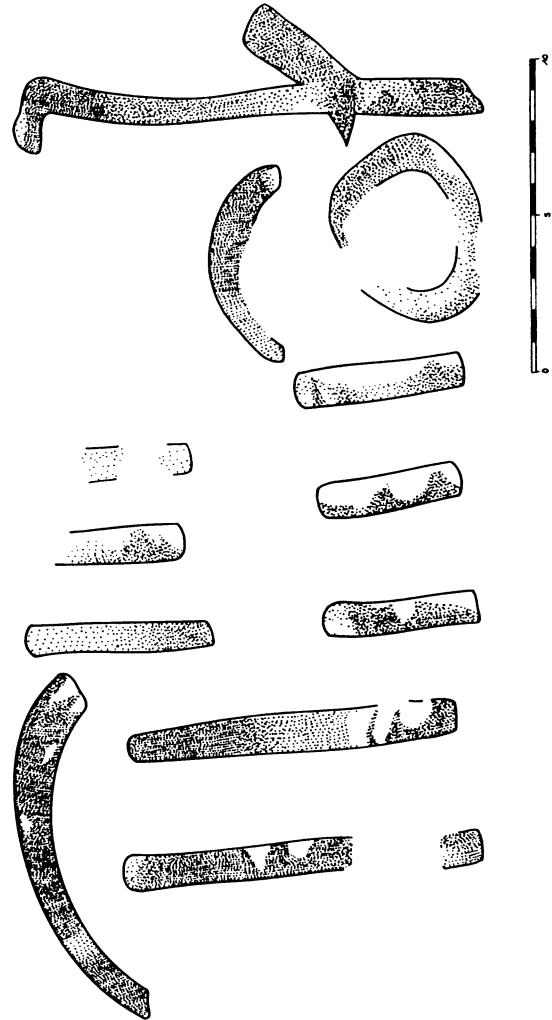


Abb. 22 Graffito in 'Kb'.

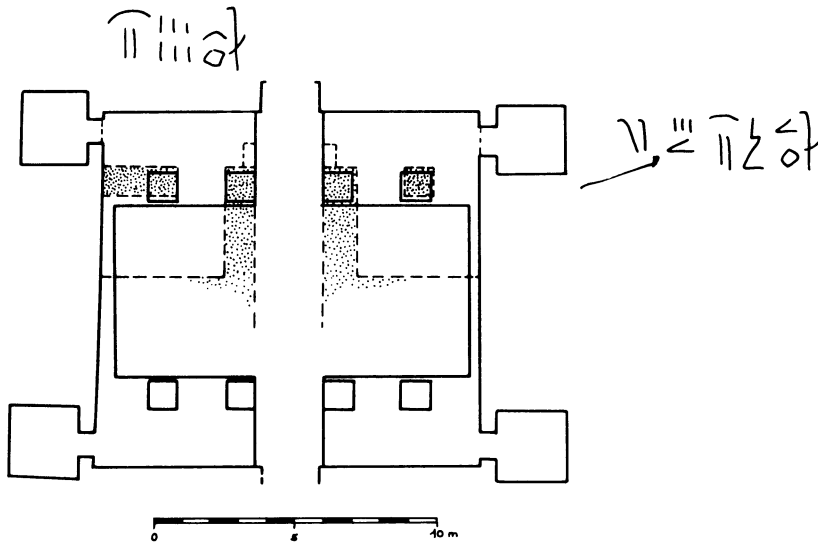


Abb. 23 Spiegelung des Grundrisses der Sarkophaghalle 'L' in den der unvollendeten Sarkophaghalle 'K'.

7', die Daten auf die Alleinregierung der Twosre bezogen und darin auch weitgehend Zustimmung gefunden.²⁹ Der Bezug der Daten auf die Alleinherrschaft der Twosre ist nunmehr, da das angenommene 'Jahr 7' ausfällt,³⁰ äußerst problematisch und muß neu hinterfragt werden.

Das Datum aus dem 6. Jahr vom II. Monat der 3^{ht}-Jahreszeit, Tag 18, liegt sehr nahe am Ende der Regierung des Siptah, dessen Begräbnis man nach oCG 25.293 am IV. 3^{ht}, Tag 22 eines nicht näher spezifizierten Regierungsjahres annehmen darf. Wird dieses Datum in das 6. Jahr von Siptah/Twosre gesetzt, ergeben die Berechnungen, die von diesem — allerdings nicht ganz sicheren — Begräbnistag ausgehen, daß Siptah nur wenige Tage vor dem im Datum von Raum 'K' genannten Tag (6. Jahr, II. 3^{ht}, Tag 18) gestorben sein muß, wahrscheinlich am Anfang des II. Monats der 3^{ht}-Jahreszeit seines 6. Regierungsjahres.³¹

Die Arbeiten in Raum 'K' waren zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits weit vorangeschritten. Der erreichte Baufortschritt legt daher nahe, daß nicht erst nach dem Beginn der Alleinherrschaft der Twosre an diesem Raum gearbeitet worden ist. Die Entscheidung zum Bau einer königlichen Sarkophaghalle für Twosre muß daher noch während der Regierung des Siptah gefallen sein. Dies kann aber nur in der Zeit einer Mitregentschaft geschehen sein.

Eine Mitregentschaft der Twosre mit Siptah ist bisher weder durch Inschriften noch durch Darstellungen belegt.³² Sie ergibt sich jedoch unzweideutig aus der Dekoration des Grabes. Ein gutes Beispiel dafür liefern die Modifikationen am Bild der Königin in Korridor 'A' (Abb. 24). In der Szene, die die Königin vor Anubis zeigt, trägt Twosre in der veränderten 2. Fassung zwar noch die Doppelfederkrone der Königin der 1. Fassung, hat aber ihre Titulatur einer 'Großen königlichen Gemahlin' (*hmt njswt wrt*) in die eines regierenden Pharaos mit Thron- und Geburts-

namen verändert. Statt nur einer einzigen Kartusche mit ihrem Geburtsnamen sind nun links vom Kopf der Königin Zwei Kartuschenringe mit dem Thron- und dem Geburtsnamen sichtbar (Abb. 25).³³

Nachdem sich nun ergeben hat, daß Raum 'K' während der Mitregentschaft von Twosre und Siptah geschaffen worden ist, ist abschließend nach dem Anlaß für die Aufzeichnung des Datums von Jahr 6, II 3^{ht} 18 in Raum 'K' zu fragen. Diese Frage läßt sich nur dann schlüssig beantworten, wenn man annimmt, daß das Datum aus der Zeit der Alleinregierung der Twosre stammt. Zur Lösung dieses Problems bieten sich zwei Alternativen an:

(a) Es ist denkbar, daß die Aufgabe des Raums aus bautechnischen, d.h. hauptsächlich aus statischen Gründen erfolgte. In der Decke von Raum 'K' sind Risse zu beobachten; an den bereits fertig gestellten Pfeilern in der Ostreihe des geplanten Raumes sind Felsausbrüche zu erkennen.

(b) Es ist andererseits aber auch möglich, daß nach Antritt der Alleinherrschaft der Königin eine grundsätzliche konzeptionelle Änderung des Grabes erfolgt ist und aus diesem Grund die Fertigstellung von Raum 'K' unterblieb. Die in 'K1'/'K2' und 'L' geplanten neuen Räumlichkeiten würden dann dazu dienen, das erweiterte Grab der neuen Stellung einer regierenden Königin anzupassen.

3. Die Daten vom III 3^{ht}, Tag 4 und 6 einer unbekannten Regierung in 'K2'.

Sie befinden sich auf der Südwand des zweiten Korridors ('K2') des königlichen Raumsystems unter dem Bildfeld mit der Darstellung der 7. Nachtsunde des *Imy-Duat* und sind untereinander in roter Tinte aufgezeichnet. Wegen, fehlender Jahresangabe sind sie schwer mit einem bestimmten Ereignis zu verbinden. Sie können unter Vorbehalt in ein 7. Jahr oder in ein 8. Jahr der Regierung der Twosre gesetzt werden und sind dann entsprechend 13 bzw. 25 Monate nach dem Zeitpunkt der Aufgabe der Sarkophaghalle 'K' zu datieren.

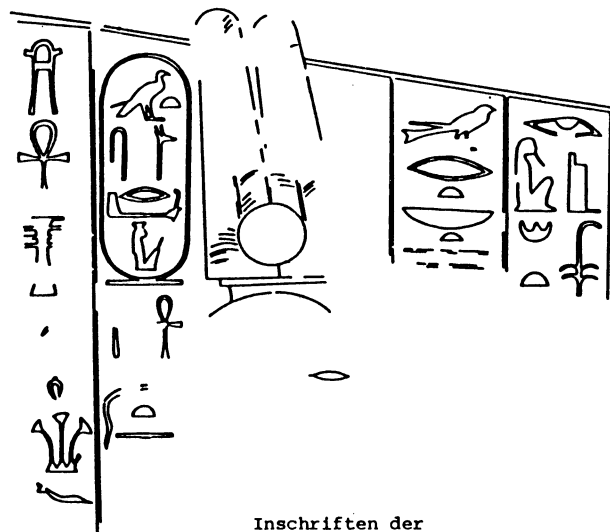
Eine sichere Deutung der beiden Daten ist nicht möglich. Es sind zwei Erklärungen möglich:

(a) Es ist denkbar, daß sie sich auf die Fertigstellung des Dekorationsabschnittes, unter dem sie stehen, beziehen. Eine vergleichbare Funktion ist für ähnliche Tagesdaten z.B. aus dem Grab des Senenmut in Deir el-Bahri (TT 353) und aus den Königsgräbern der 19. Dynastie (z.B. bei Sethos II.) bekannt. Dort stehen allerdings solche Daten direkt in den Textkolumnen, auf deren Fertigstellung sie sich beziehen, und nicht unter dem Text in der Sockelzone.

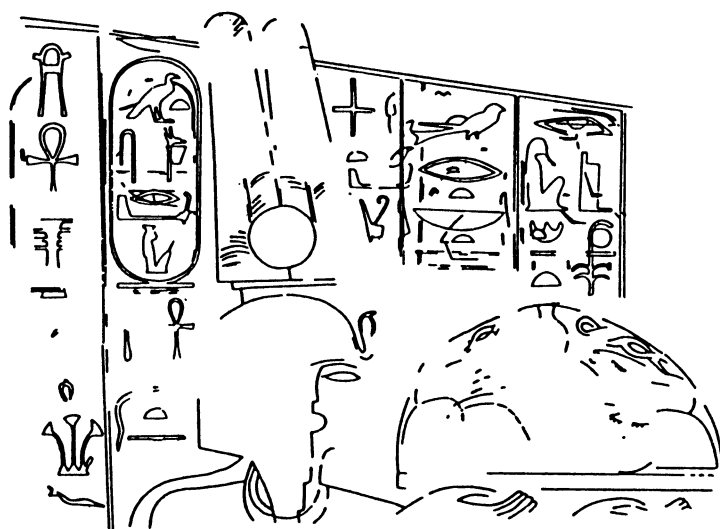
Eine solche Interpretation der Daten von 'K2' zwingt zu der Annahme, daß sie nicht 25 Monate, sondern nur 13 Monate nach den Daten von Raum 'K' (s.o. S. 149 ff.) einzuordnen sind. Werden nämlich die beiden Daten 25 Monate nach diesem Datum von Raum 'K' angesetzt, müßten sie ganz an das Ende der Regierung der Twosre oder in die Zeit kurz nach ihrem Tod gehören. Das höchstbelegte



Abb. 24 Twosre vor Anubis, 2. Sz. der Südwand im 1. Korridor.

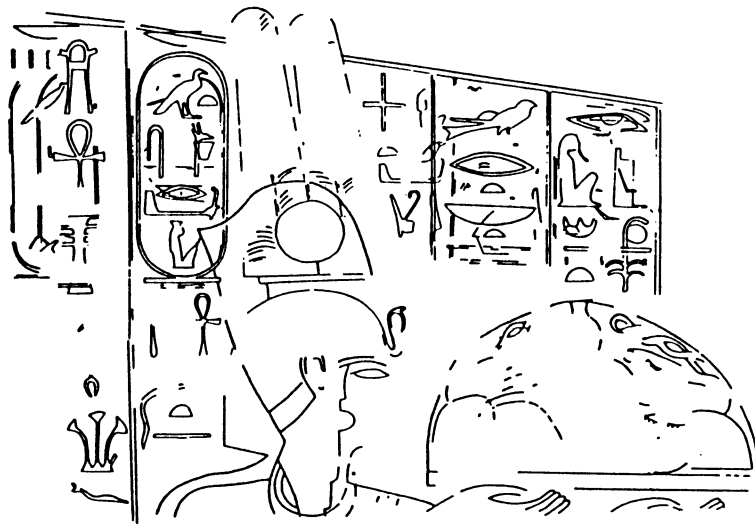


Inschriften der
1. Fassung

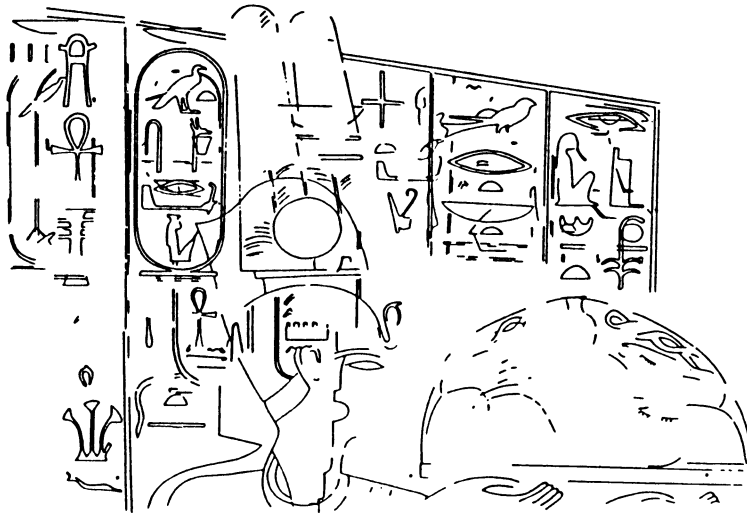


Inschriften der
2. Fassung

Abb. 25 Die vier Dekorationsphasen der Szene von Abb, 24.



Inschriften der
3. Fassung



Inschriften der
4. Fassung

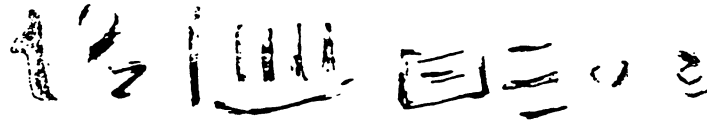


Abb. 26 Das Datum aus dem 1. Jahr Ramesses III. in Korridor 'K2'.

Datum der Twosre aus dem 8. Jahr (oCG 25.293), das möglicherweise zu einem '8. Jahr, IV. [šmw]' zu ergänzen ist,³⁴ kann wegen chronologischer Erwägungen kaum überschritten werden.

Eine Regierungsdauer von 7 Jahren wird für Twosre bei Manetho belegt.³⁵ Dieser von Manetho vorgegebene Zeitraum ist im 8. Jahr am Ende des IV. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ t, also kurz nach unserem Datum, abgelaufen. Da Manetho in einem solchen Fall wahrscheinlich auf 8 Jahre aufgerundet hätte, ist ein solcher Datierungsvorschlag nicht überzeugend.

(b) Werden die beiden Daten — trotz der soeben geäußerten Bedenken — 25 Monate nach dem Datum von Raum 'K' angesetzt, könnten sie unter bestimmten Prämissen einem Nachfolger zugeordnet werden und dann im Zusammenhang mit den Vorbereitungen des Begräbnisses der Twosre stehen. Im Hinblick auf oCG 25.293, das als Möglichkeit ein '8. Jahr, IV. [šmw]' als höchst belegtes Datum der Twosre zuläßt, und unter Berücksichtigung einer 70-Tagefrist zwischen Tod und Bestattung könnte man den Todestag dann um den IV. šmw, Tag 27 oder kurz davor legen.³⁶

4. Das 4. Datum vom 1. Jahr, IV šmw, Tag 3 (Abb. 26).

Das Datum befindet sich wie das vorausgegangene im Korridor 'K2'. Es nennt ein 1. Jahr im IV. Monat der šmw-Jahreszeit, Tag 3. Es wurde auf der rückwärtigen Seite des südlichen Türpfostens beim Durchgang von 'K1' nach 'K2' gefunden. Seine Bedeutung liegt in dem Datumssprung in ein 1. Regierungsjahr. Das Datum kann sich daher nicht auf Twosre, sondern nur auf einen der Nachfolger dieser Königin beziehen, entweder auf ihren unmittelbaren Nachfolger Setnakhte oder auf Ramesses III., der das Grab für seinen Vater Setnakhte hat herrichten lassen. Da das erhaltene Datum vom IV. šmw Tag 3 genau 68 Tage nach dem Tod des Setnakhte am I šmw 26 liegt, ist der Zusammenhang mit der Beisetzung des Setnakhte gesichert und damit das Regierungsjahr auf Ramesses III. zu beziehen. Das Datum kann auf diese Weise mit der Usurpation des Grabes durch Ramesses III. verbunden werden. Dieser hat seinen Vater Setnakhte im Grab der Königin Twosre (KV 14) beisetzen lassen, anstatt, wie von Setnakhte selbst geplant, in KV 11.

5. Zusammenfassung zu den Daten

Nachdem die Daten aus dem Grab der Königin Twosre besprochen worden sind, lassen sich die aus der Untersuchung gewonnenen Ergebnisse wie folgt zusammenfassen:

(1) Das Datum vom Begräbnis Sethos II. über dem Eingang des Grabes der Twosre deutet darauf hin, daß die Grabanlage bereits unter Sethos II. begonnen wurde. Mit Sethos II. ist daher auch die erste Bauphase zu verbinden. Nach oKairo JE 72.452 kann der Baubeginn in das 2. Jahr Sethos II., auf den I. *pṛt*, Tag 8 festgelegt werden.

(2) Das Datum in Raum 'K' ist kurz nach dem Todestag des Siptah im 6. Jahr von dessen Regierung anzusetzen. Es kennzeichnet den Abbruch der Arbeiten in diesem Raum, der eine Sarkophaghalle in königlichen Dimensionen werden sollte. Da der Baubeginn vor dem Tod des Siptah liegt, ist die angefangene Sarkophaghalle ein wichtiger Beleg für die Mitregentschaft der Twosre in den letzten Jahren der Regierung des Siptah.

(3) Die beiden Daten im 2. Korridor des königlichen Raumabschnitts aus der letzten Phase der Alleinherrschaft der Twosre sind ohne Angabe eines Regierungsjahres und daher nicht exakt einzuordnen.

(4) Das Datum vom 1. Jahr IV. *šmw*, Tag 3 liegt kurz vor dem Begräbnistag des Setnakhte. Es ist das jüngste Datum in der Grabanlage und steht mit der Usurpation der Anlage und Umgestaltung der Dekoration für Setnakhte in Verbindung.

Die Bedeutung der Daten für die Baugeschichte und für die Dekoration des Grabes

Die aus der Untersuchung der Daten gewonnenen Ergebnisse können nun in einem letzten Abschnitt für die chronologische Einordnung der Bauphasen des Grabes genutzt und damit für eine Interpretation der Dekoration der Grabanlage verwendet werden.

Die eingangs ermittelten vier Bauphasen am Grab lassen sich nach der Untersuchung der Daten chronologisch einordnen:

(1) Die 1. Bauphase beginnt im 2. Jahr Sethos II. (oKairo 72.3524) Der Bau wird während der Regierung dieses Königs bis an das Ende des 2. Korridors geführt und bleibt dann liegen. Die Bauarbeiten werden nach einem Hiat von etwa 4 Jahren vermutlich im 1. Jahr der Regierung des Siptah wieder aufgenommen.

(2) Die 2. Bauphase ist mit der Regierung des Siptah verbunden und deckt einen Zeitraum von 5 bis 6 Jahren ab. Während dieser Zeit wird das Grab in Gestalt einer verkleinerten Kopie eines Königsgrabes bis zur Sarkophaghalle 'J' geführt.

(3) Die 3. Bauphase setzt am Ende der Regierung des Siptah ein und ist mit der Mitregentschaft der Twosre verbunden. In dieser Phase wird die Erweiterung des nichtköniglichen Raumsystems zu einem königlichen Raumsystem geplant. Am Ende der Regierung des Siptah wird im rückwärtigen Teil der nichtköniglichen

Sarkophaghalle 'J' mit dem Bau einer königlichen Sarkophaghalle 'K' begonnen. Die Arbeiten werden im 6. Jahr II. 3^{ht} Tag 18 eingestellt.

(4) Die bereits in der 3. Bauphase erkennbare Neukonzeption leitet zur 4. Bauphase über. Die nichtkönigliche Grabanlage wird in toto zu einer königlichen Grabanlage umgestaltet: Die Grabfassade wird erweitert, die Durchgänge in den Korridoren von 'A'–'J' verbreitert, die Seitenkammern in der Sarkophaghalle 'J' geschlossen. Das auf 'K' folgende Raumsystem von 'K'–'L' wird in dieser Phase geschaffen.

(5) Die Gesamtanlage wird nach dem Tod des Setnakhte von Ramesses III. für Setnakhte usurpiert. Aus diesem Anlaß wird die Mumie der Twosre aus ihrem Grab genommen und in ein anderes Grab verbracht. Reste ihrer Grabausrüstung sind in KV 56 gefunden worden.

In der 70-Tage-Frist zwischen Tod und Begräbnis werden am fertig gestellten Königsgrab keine baulichen Veränderungen mehr vorgenommen. Ramesses III. beschränkt sich darauf, das auf Twosre lautende Bild- und Textprogramm des Königsgrabes auf den Namen des Setnakhte abzuändern.

Die verschiedenen Bauphasen des Grabes lassen zum Teil schwerwiegende Eingriffe in das Bauprogramm des Grabes erkennen. Die politischen Veränderungen haben dabei ganz offensichtlich die entscheidende Rolle gespielt und den Grabbau tiefgreifend und essentiell beeinflußt. Sie haben ihre Spuren nicht nur in der Architektur, sondern auch in der Dekoration hinterlassen.

Die wichtigsten Modifikationen der Dekoration des Grabes, die sich auf die veränderte Stellung der Königin Twosre beziehen, können abschließend an einer Auswahl von Beispielen vorgestellt werden (vgl. Abb. 24–25).

(1) Die 1. Phase der Dekoration liegt am Beginn der Regierung des Siptah. In diese frühe Phase gehören die Bilder des oberen Grabbereichs. Der erste Korridor zeigt die Königin allein oder in Gesellschaft mit König Siptah bei der Verehrung verschiedener Gottheiten, die Bilder der nachfolgenden Korridore stellen sie in den Kontext mit *Tb* 145. Auffallend ist, daß die Königin stets untätig mit dem Wedel in der einen Hand und mit dem Taschentuch oder einer Blume in der anderen Hand dargestellt wird. Die opfernde Königin gehört einer späteren Dekorationsphase an.

(2) Während der Mitregentschaft von Twosre und Siptah werden am bestehenden Bildprogramm, und dort vor allem bei den Beischriften der Königin, erste Korrekturen angebracht. Die wesentliche Arbeit besteht darin, Bilder und Texte, die sonst nur aus den Königsgräbern bekannt sind, in das Dekorationsprogramm aufzunehmen. Hierzu zählen die Texte des Mundöffnungsrituals in den beiden Korridoren 'F' und 'H' und die Bilder und Texte des Pfortenbuchs in der Sarkophaghalle 'J'. Die Zugehörigkeit der Texte des Pfortenbuchs zu dieser zweiten Dekorationsphase läßt sich an einem Beispiel aus der Sarkophaghalle 'J' nachweisen. Dort finden sich unter der heute sichtbaren Dekoration Bilder, die zu einer älteren Schicht, d.h. zur Dekorationsphase der Mitregentin, gehören.³⁷

(3) Die letzte und abschließende Modifikation des Bildprogramms ist mit der 4. Bauphase verbunden. Diese liegt in der Zeit der Alleinregierung der Twosre und ist zeitgleich mit der Ausdekorierung der neu geschaffenen Räume im hinteren Abschnitt des Königsgrabes. Im vorderen Grabbereich werden die Bilder der Königin neu mit der *hprš*-Krone versehen, die Königin selbst bei Opfer vor den Göttern dargestellt. Die Königin führt das Bild Sethos II. in ihr Grab ein. Dieses ist einmal aus der Annektierung der Regierungsjahre des Siptah zu verstehen, die eine Existenz dieses Königs nicht ermöglicht und deshalb seine namentliche Erwähnung im Grab ausschließt,³⁸ hat daneben aber noch eine weitere Funktion. Sein Bild ermöglicht der Königin, ihren eigenen Herrschaftsanspruch durch ihre familiäre Bindung an Sethos II. zu begründen und ihr Königtum durch die genealogische Verbindung mit den Königen der frühen 19. Dynastie zu legitimieren und abzusichern.

(4) Die Usurpation des Grabes für Setnakhte hat ein letztes Mal größere Dekorationsarbeiten erfordert, die im wesentlichen in der Überarbeitung der Bilder und Kartuschen der Twosre bestehen. Die meisten Bilder der Twosre werden im Schnellverfahren überputzt und mit weißer Farbe übertüncht und anschließend neu dekoriert.

Im ersten Korridor werden die Figuren der Twosre mit einer Gipsschicht bedeckt und an ihrer Stelle, allerdings in kleinerem Format, die Figuren des Setnakhte in bemaltem Relief eingefügt. Ein ähnliches Verfahren wurde in der Sarkophaghalle 'J' gewählt. Dort reichte die Zeit jedoch nicht mehr aus, um die Bilder in bemaltem Relief auszuführen. Die Bilder des Setnakhte sind daher nur als Vorzeichnung erhalten.

An den übrigen Stellen des Grabes³⁹ wurde noch zeitsparender verfahren. Über die geweißte und unter der Stuckschicht verborgene Figur der Königin Twosre wurde gar nicht mehr erst das Bild des Königs gesetzt, sondern nur noch in großen schwarzen Hieroglyphen sein Name geschrieben.

Bei dem überhasteten Vorgehen und dem Ersetzen der Namenshieroglyphen der Twosre in Texten z. B. des Mundöffnungsrituals, und in Namensbeischriften zu den ehemaligen und nunmehr übertünchten Bildern der Königin blieb gelegentlich aus Nachlässigkeit die ursprüngliche Titulatur der Königin (*hmt njswt wrt*) stehen, so daß sich heute im Zusammenhang mit dem Namen des Setnakhte Titelkombinationen ergeben, die unsinnig und fehlerhaft sind.

Anmerkungen

- 1 Eine vergleichende Übersicht über die Längenausdehnung der Königsgräber des Neuen Reiches fehlt. Nur die Korridorbreiten und -höhen sind bisher listenmäßig erfaßt: E. Hornung, 'Struktur und Entwicklung der Gräber im Tal der Könige', *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 59–66. Die Übersichtspläne bei E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), *passim*, und F. Abitz, *Die religiöse Bedeutung der sogenannten Grabräuberschächte in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. bis 20. Dynastie* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 29) (Wiesbaden, 1974), Plan A-I, vermitteln zwar einen allgemeinen

- Eindruck über die Länge der einzelnen Gräber, geben aber keine maßstabsgerechte vergleichende Maße.
- 2 Vgl. dazu: H. Altenmüller, 'Das Grab der Königin Tausret im Tal der Könige von Theben', *SAK* 10 (1983), 1–24; Ders., 'Rolle und Bedeutung des Grabes der Königin Tausret im Königsgräbertal von Theben', *BSEG* 8 (1983), 3–11; Ders., 'Das Grab der Königin Twosre (KV 14). Bericht über eine archäologische Unternehmung', *GM* 84 (1985), 7–17.
 - 3 Für die ständige Bereitschaft zur Diskussion und für wichtige Anregungen bin ich meiner Frau Christiane Preuß-Altenmüller, die die Arbeiten seit ihrem Beginn begleitet hat, sehr dankbar.
 - 4 Plan von KV 14 bei: H. Altenmüller, *SAK* 10 (1983), 1 ff, Faltblatt; Thomas, op. cit. 116 ff., 119 Abb. 13.
 - 5 E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige. Ruhestätte der Pharaonen* (Zürich–München, 1982), 54.
 - 6 Belege: Thomas, op. cit. 125; J. Černý, *The Valley of the Kings* (Bibliothèque d'étude 61) (Kairo, 1973), 11; Hornung u. Mitarbeiter, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, Teil II: *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 8) (Basel–Genf, 1980), 17; R. Drenkhahn, *Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnakhte und ihr historischer Hintergrund* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 36) (Wiesbaden, 1981), 20; Abitz, 'Zur Bedeutung der beiden Nebenräume hinter der Sarkophaghalle der Königin Tausret', *SAK* 9 (1981), 1–8; D. Valbelle, *Les Ouvriers de la Tombe. Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside* (Bibliothèque d'étude 96) (Kairo, 1985), 184 f.
 - 7 Das höchste Datum ist durch oUC London mit Jahr 2, III. *šmw* 24 belegt (Kitchen, *Ram. Inscr.* V, 1–2). Sein Tod an einem I. *šmw* 26 kann nur in einem der folgenden Jahre liegen. Solange kein Datum bekannt ist, das diesen I. *šmw* 26 in einem auf das 2. Jahr folgenden Jahr überschreitet, wird man annehmen müssen, daß Setnakhte in seinem 3. Jahr starb.
 - 8 PM I, ii^a, 510. 523 (26). Die Begründung, daß KV 11 wegen der Kollision mit KV 10 (des Amenmesse) von Setnakhte aufgegeben worden sei (vgl. Thomas, op. cit. 125.) ist revisionsbedürftig.
 - 9 Hornung u. Mitarbeiter, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*. Teil I: *Text* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 7) (Basel–Genf, 1979), 317; Teil II: *Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 8) (Basel–Genf, 1980), 216f. Anm. 16.
 - 10 Altenmüller, *SAK* 10(1983), 3.
 - 11 Altenmüller, op. cit. 5.
 - 12 Altenmüller, 'Der Begräbnistag Sethos' II., *SAK* 11 (1984), 37–47; Ders., *GM* 84 (1985), 14.
 - 13 Kitchen, *Ram. Inscr.* IV, 327. 382.
 - 14 Ders. op. cit. 396.
 - 15 Ders. op. cit. 397.
 - 16 Ders., op. cit. 404.
 - 17 A. H. Gardiner, 'The Tomb of Queen Twosre', *JEA* 40 (1954), 43 Anm. 3: 'Year 2, first of Winter, day 8, the day when *Rwdw* (or the agent . . . with name omitted) came with a dispatch to (the Vizier?) saying "Start upon the Tomb of the King's Great Wife Twosre" '.
 - 18 Z. B. Drenkhahn, op. cit. 19; Kitchen, op. cit. 404; Altenmüller, *SAK* 11 (1984), 45.
 - 19 Vgl. Valbelle, op. cit. 184.
 - 20 Thomas, op. cit. 115.
 - 21 W. Helck, *SAK* 17 (1990), 205–14.
 - 22 Kitchen, op. cit. 397 ff.
 - 23 Ders. op. cit. 402 ff.
 - 24 Vgl. Ders. op. cit. 356.
 - 25 Drenkhahn, op. cit. 20.

- 26 Hornung, *Tal der Könige*, 54.
- 27 Abitz, *SAK* 8 (1981), 1–8.
- 28 Drenkhahn, op. cit. 20.
- 29 So von Thomas, op. cit. 115; R. Krauss, 'Untersuchungen zu König Amenemesse', *SAK* 5 (1977), 152; Drenkhahn, op. cit. 19, und Kitchen, op. cit. 356.
- 30 C. N. Reeves glaubt die Daten, speziell das Datum aus Jahr 7, mit der Auslagerung der Königsmumien während der *whm-mswt*-Aera bzw. unter Smendes erklären zu können (*Valley of the Kings. The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London, 1990), 109 ff.) Diese Möglichkeit erweist sich nach der Verbesserung der Jahreszahl von einem 7. in ein 6. Jahr als nicht mehr zulässig und wird daher hier nicht erörtert.
- 31 Die Berechnung des Todesdatums des Siptah geht von oKairo 25.792 (Kitchen, op. cit. 414 f.) aus, das nach W. Helck (bei: Krauss, *SAK* 5 (1977), 151) ein königliches Begräbnis am IV 3^{ht}, Tag 22 eines nicht näher bezeichneten Jahres nennt. Da das Begräbnis durch den Vezir Hori angekündigt wird, kann das Ereignis nur in der Zeit von Sethos II. bis Ramesses III. stattgefunden haben (Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 3) (Leiden–Köln, 1958), 460 ff., Nr. 39) und kann es sich bei demselben nur um das Begräbnis des Siptah oder der Twosre gehandelt haben. Gewöhnlich wird hier der Bezug auf Siptah der Möglichkeit 'Twosre' vorgezogen (vgl. Helck bei Krauss, *SAK* 5 (1977), 150 f., Drenkhahn, op. cit. 14, und Kitchen, 'Siptah', in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V (Wiesbaden, 1984), 955–6). Bei Annahme einer 70 Tagefrist für die Vorbereitung auf das Begräbnis dürfte der Tod der am IV 3^{ht} 22 bestatteten Person spätestens am II 3^{ht} 13, oder einige Tage eher eingetreten sein. Das Graffito in 'Ka/Kb' könnte dann den Tag bezeichnen, an dem der Tod des Siptah in Theben verkündet wurde und Twosre mit ihrer Alleinherrschaft begann.
- 32 W. J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 40) (Chicago, 1977), zieht eine solche Mitregentschaft gar nicht erst in Erwägung.
- 33 Der darauf folgende Schritt von der Mitregentin zum allein regierenden Pharaon wird in einer späteren Phase durch die Umgestaltung der Doppelfederkrone der Königin und Mitregentin in die blaue Krone (*hprš*) des regierenden Königs sichtbar.
- 34 Kitchen, op. cit. 408. Ich selbst habe mich gegen diese Ergänzung in 'Tausret und Setnacht', *JEA* 68 (1982), 114 und *GM* 84 (1985) 7, Anm. 2 gewandt, möchte sie aber jetzt als eine gute Möglichkeit gelten lassen.
- 35 Drenkhahn, op. cit. 26.
- 36 Eine Datierung von oCG 25.293 mit seinem möglichen IV. [*šmw*] in die Nähe des Todestages dieser Königin läßt sich nicht weiter untermauern. In diesem Zusammenhang ist bemerkenswert, daß auf oCG 25.293 eine Namensnennung der Twosre erscheint, was ein Indiz für eine wichtige Nachricht auf dem Ostrakon sein könnte. Namensnennungen von Herrschern auf Ostraka sind selten und beziehen sich, falls vorhanden, hauptsächlich auf die folgenden 3 Zusammenhänge: Ableben eines Herrschers, Thronbesteigung seines Nachfolgers, Arbeiten am Königsgrab (vgl. Valbelle, op. cit. 181 Anm. 8). Allerdings kann daraus nicht abgeleitet werden, daß auf oCG 25.293 der Todestag der Twosre genannt wird. Dies wäre nur eine von mehreren Möglichkeiten.
- 37 Während der 4. Bauphase wurde die Anlage um die königliche Sarkophaghalle 'L' erweitert und wurden gleichzeitig die Nebenkammern der kgl. Sarkophaghalle 'J' mit Mauerwerk verschlossen. Die neu entstandenen leeren Wandflächen auf der Nord- und Südwand von 'J' wurden anschließend neu dekoriert. Die ältere Schicht aus der Zeit der Mitregentschaft wurde dabei von Stuck überdeckt.
- 38 Vielleicht ist mit diesem Gedanken auch die Tilgung der Namen des Siptah in dessen

Grab (KV 47) zu erklären. Die Restaurierung der Kartuschen des Siptah wäre dann im Anschluß an die Regierung der Twosre erfolgt.

39 Ausnahmen davon sind zwei Bilder des Königs in Korridor 'F' und 'H'.

The Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX

FRIEDRICH ABITZ

THIS lecture is a summary of my investigations in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the full results of which are due to appear in a future issue of *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*.¹ For illustrative material I shall utilize drawings by Felix Guilman² and make comparisons with the tomb of Ramesses VI through the work of Alexandre Piankoff³ and my own investigations of the same tomb in the series 'Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis'.⁴ The tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6) is the last royal tomb which — because of the scale of its decoration — can provide information on developments during the late Ramesside period.⁵ The economic situation and diminution of the royal power are reflected in the building process.

The Working Processes

During the approximately eighteen-year reign of Ramesses IX⁶ the cutting of the tomb progressed as far as the fourth corridor. The plasterwork was finished up to and including the second corridor and the decoration in little more than the first corridor. The work had evidently been interrupted for long periods. Since the quality of this work is outstanding, the poor progress cannot be blamed on a lack of skilled craftsmen. The explanation is rather to be sought in the king's inability to fund the work.

Symptomatic of this situation is the fact that, during the last years of the reign, a change in decoration was ordered. At that time only the first corridor with the entrance scenes on both walls, as well as the *Litany of Rē* on the left and the first part of the *Book of Caverns* on the right, had been completed. Those responsible evidently realized that the completion of the tomb as originally planned was no longer possible. The attempt to realize a large tomb of traditional form was abandoned.

This had been the case with all royal tombs since the reign of Ramesses IV. Neither his tomb nor the tombs of the kings who followed are comparable in size or execution with that of Ramesses III; the tomb of Ramesses VI owes its

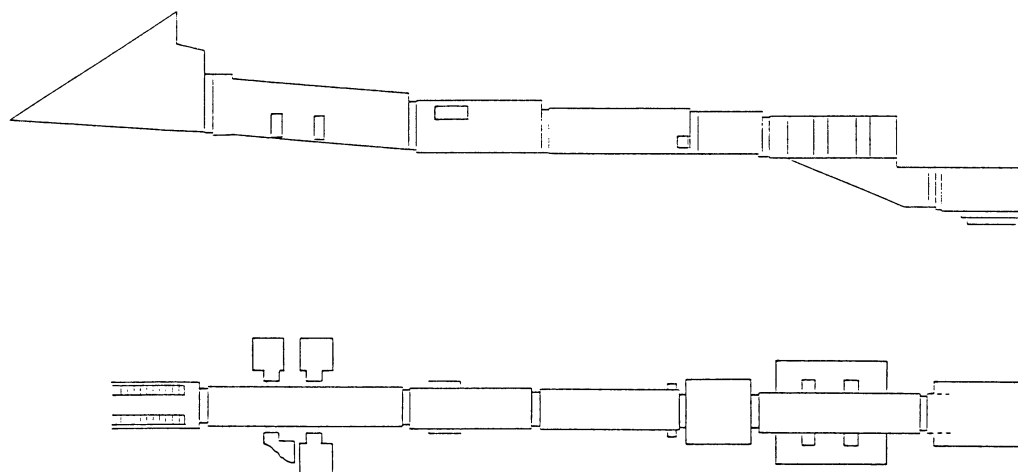


FIGURE 27 The tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6).

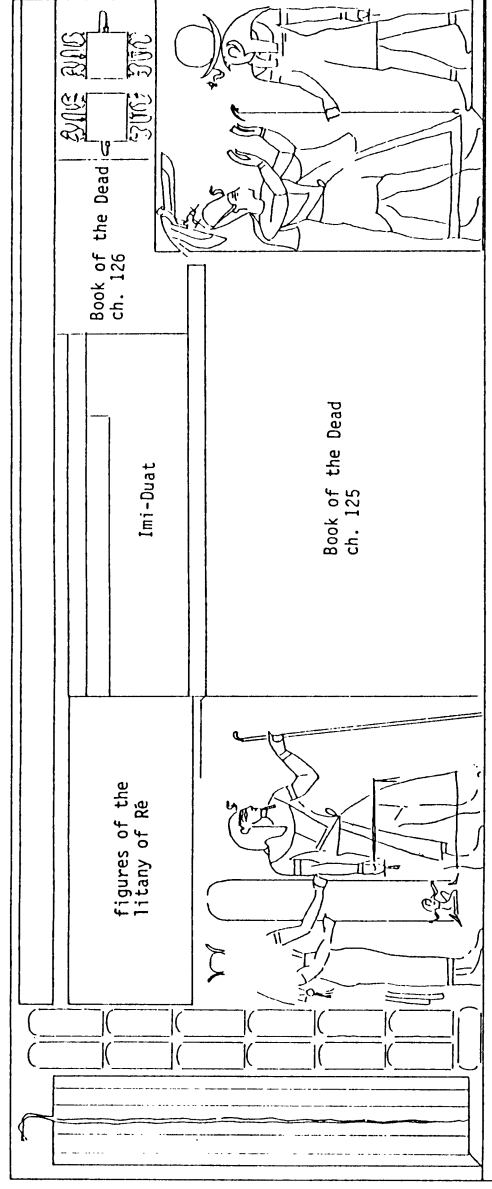
comparatively greater size solely to the fact that it was executed during the rule of two sovereigns, Ramesses V and Ramesses VI.⁷ The same phenomenon may be observed in the temple-construction programme of Ramesses IV: the work at Medinet Habu started very ambitiously but never progressed beyond the preliminary stages.⁸

It is of interest, in this connection, to compare the amount of work carried out before and after the death of Ramesses IX. During the eighteen years of his reign the decoration was of very high quality, extending over a much smaller surface area than those later scenes hastily produced in the short time between the death and funeral of the king.⁹

The point at which the design changes may be discerned as beginning at the end of the first corridor, with the first purification of the king, continuing at the start of the second corridor with the escorting of the king by a goddess (probably the Goddess of the West),¹⁰ passing *Book of the Dead* spells 125 and 126, through to the transformation of the king to a god in front of Khons-Neferhotep-Shu (see fig. 28).

The change in the original decorative design during the king's lifetime is documented in the progress and the location of the scenes. Between the end of the *Litany of Rē* and the scene of the king's first purification, in the first corridor, a number of reworkings may be recognized, and an additional scene has been squeezed in. Spell 125 of the *Book of the Dead* has been carved in thirty long columns in excellent painted relief, a technique which would not have been used so extensively after the king's death. The transformation of the king to a god appears at the end of the second corridor, and not in the traditional position, which — since the time of Sethos I — had been the rear wall of the first pillared hall.¹¹ The change of design must have occurred at the end of Ramesses IX's reign; details, e.g. ribbons of garments and sceptre, have not been completed, and the text of *Book of the Dead* spell 126 has simply been painted-in in black.

2nd corridor



1st corridor



FIGURE 28 Purification, escort, and deification of the king.

At the time of the king's death the left wall of the second corridor with the completed change of design was almost finished; the right wall, with the exception of a few areas, had not been decorated at all. Only a small part of the tomb had been completed; the important texts and scenes appropriate for the lower part of the tomb had not even been started. It is to be presumed that the unfinished fourth corridor had been enlarged to prepare the small sarcophagus chamber; otherwise no further quarrying had been carried out.¹²

After the death of the king, the following work was carried out:

Plastering: part of the ceiling and walls of the third corridor; the exit walls of the shaft room; the walls and ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber; the doorways beyond the second and third corridors.

Decoration: in the second corridor: further figures of the *Litany of Rē*; the beginning of the *Imy-Duat* (left); three divisions of the *Book of Caverns* in changed order, crowded close together.

In the third corridor: the *Imy-Duat*, second division and parts of the third division (left); the king in front of Ptaḥ; the enigmatic wall.

In the shaft room, exit walls: the second purification (left); the opening of the mouth (right) by Iunmutef.

In the sarcophagus chamber: the complete decoration of the room.

It is remarkable that, after a long period of stagnation during the lifetime of Ramesses IX, an extensive programme of scenes and inscriptions, even of poor quality, should have been produced. The structure of the decoration differs considerably from that of all predecessors of Ramesses IX. This is due partly to the working sequence: original plan, change of design, work after the king's death.

The Continuity in Tomb Decoration since Ramesses VI

The decoration of the tomb of Ramesses VI differs from that traditionally employed since the time of Sethos I.¹³ In the scenes and inscriptions of Ramesses VI's tomb priority is given to Rē rather than to Osiris and his myth. The decorative plan in the tomb of Ramesses IX is, in important parts, a development of that in the tomb of Ramesses VI. The tomb corresponds in plan to the tombs built since Tuthmosis IV.¹⁴ It comprises three entrance corridors, a shaft room (without shaft),¹⁵ first pillared hall, exit into the lower part of the tomb (ramp), and the start of a fourth corridor (all sharing the same axis).

In the unfinished tomb of Ramesses IX the traditional decoration of the upper part of the tomb ends with the transformation of the king to a god already employed at the end of the second corridor. Therefore, the decoration of the lower part of the tomb begins with the third corridor. The decorative schemes of the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX correspond as follows:

Scenes at the beginning of the first corridor: in the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses VII, the king appears in front of Rē in a richly decorated shrine.

Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX

Book of Caverns: first–fourth division in the first and second corridor (right), parts of the fifth and sixth division in the sarcophagus chamber. Ramesses VI: complete representation of the *Book* over the entire right wall in the upper part of the tomb. *Imy-duat*: starts with the second division in the second corridor, with the second division and the beginning of the third division in the third corridor. Ramesses VI: first–eleventh division in the fourth and fifth corridors.

The Book of the Earth (Piankoff, *La Création du disque solaire*): a few scenes in the sarcophagus chamber. Ramesses VI: the entire decoration in the sarcophagus hall consist of this Book.

Spell 125 of the *Book of the Dead*: Ramesses IX continues with the final text of the spell at the precise point Ramesses VI breaks off.

Spell 126 of the *Book of the Dead*: in the second corridor. Ramesses VI: in the anteroom.

The astronomical ceiling, including the decans, planets, the northern constellation, and the Ramessid star clock: in the second corridor. Ramesses VI: in the second and third corridors.

The *Book of Day* and the *Book of Night*: employed by both Ramesses IX and Ramesses VI on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber.

The scene depicting the resurrection of Osiris: rear wall of the sarcophagus chamber. Ramesses VI: ceiling of the anteroom.

Iunmutf: on the exit walls of the shaft room, purification of the king (left) and opening of the mouth (right). Not present in Ramesses VI, but included in a variant form in the tomb of Ramesses VII.

For the ceiling of the fourth corridor Ramesses IX has taken the newly structured scenes from Ramesses VI. They are shown in the centre, framed by parts of the *Book of Day* and the *Book of Night*, the awakening of the blessed on their mummy biers and the Mehen-snake. In the third corridor of Ramesses IX the scenes with the appearance of Rē and the barges for the journey of the king are missing.¹⁶

The above comparisons serve to establish the fact that Ramesses IX copied essential elements of his tomb decoration from his predecessors. Parts of his tomb are a continuation of the programme newly developed by Ramesses VI. On the other hand, there exists a surprising number of innovations in the texts and scenes.

The ‘Manipulation’ of the Books of the Underworld

An unprecedented arrangement of the Books of the Underworld occurs in the tomb of Ramesses IX. In form and in the conspicuous quantity of new layouts the arrangement is unparalleled in any earlier king’s tomb. I shall refer to these alterations as ‘manipulations’, since they are interventions in the variously described Books of the Underworld. They were intended to be useful to the life of the dead king in the other world. There is evidence for this form of alteration in the *Book of Caverns*, the *Imy-Duat*, in the *Book of Day* and the *Book of Night*, in the scene of the resurrection of Osiris and also in the scenes on the ceiling of the second and third corridor. At first sight these manipulations are inconspicuous, but they demonstrate a cleverness in dealing with their subject.

Book of Caverns

Approximately half of the scenes and texts within the fourth division of the *Book of Caverns* was omitted, and the available space was used for a new composite scene at the entrance to the tomb. Unique in the *Book of Caverns*, this scene incorporates, towards the entrance to the tomb, a representation of the king offering a libation before Rē'. As a comparison with the usual arrangement shows, the scene itself is a combination of all three registers of the section. On the right, four gods have been added to the usual four worshipping gods and they are shown standing around Rē' and the king. In addition, two decapitated enemies and four captive enemies flank the scene; the raising and resurrection of Osiris is shown immediately behind the king. The king's future in the next world is thus neatly summarized: meeting and welcome by Rē', receiving the worship of the guards of the cavern, extermination of the enemies (i.e. of all evil), and the revival of the body (i.e. regeneration).

Imy-Duat

In the third corridor the king is shown in a hitherto unknown form within the *Imy-Duat* (Fig. 31). In the upper register the king worships the gods of the court of justice; in the middle register he kneels in the barge 'Boat of the Underworld-People' in *hnw*-posture in front of 'The One who supports Truth'. In both cases the king looks towards the entrance of the tomb. There is no corresponding portrayal of the king to be found in the lower register. An indication of a hidden manifestation of the king, however, may be recognized in the lower register. Only this part of the third register, third division, with its gods and texts, is orientated towards the entrance of the tomb, contrary to all other scenes and texts of the wall. In all known representations of the *Imy-Duat*, the journey of the sun god through the Underworld leads in a straight line to the inner tomb. The reversal of this part of the third register was necessary to accommodate a manifestation of the king as Osiris looking towards the entrance. Just below the figure of the king in the second register is Osiris 'Foremost of the West', seated on his throne in the third register. This is the manifestation of the dead king as Osiris; the following Osiris, 'Lord of the West', is singular to the *Imy-Duat* within the tombs of the kings named 'the great'.¹⁷

This change in orientation was surely done to distinguish Osiris 'Foremost of the West' as a manifestation of the king from the true god Osiris. The result of this manipulation of the *Imy-Duat* is a meaningful vertical reading of the king's representation: worshipping the gods of the court of justice, jubilation over Ma'at, transfiguration as Osiris 'Foremost of the West'.

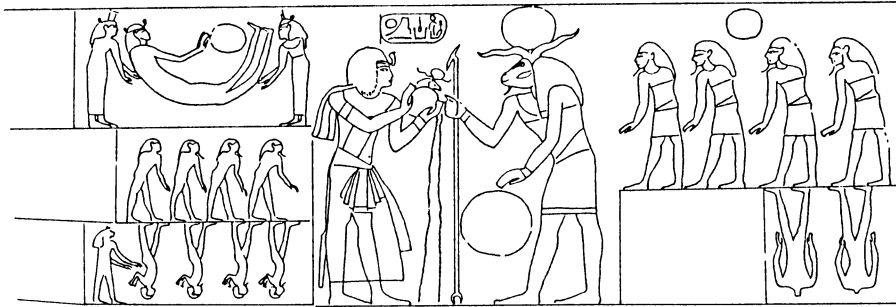


FIGURE 29 The *Book of Caverns*, part of the Fourth Tableau in the tomb of Ramesses IX.

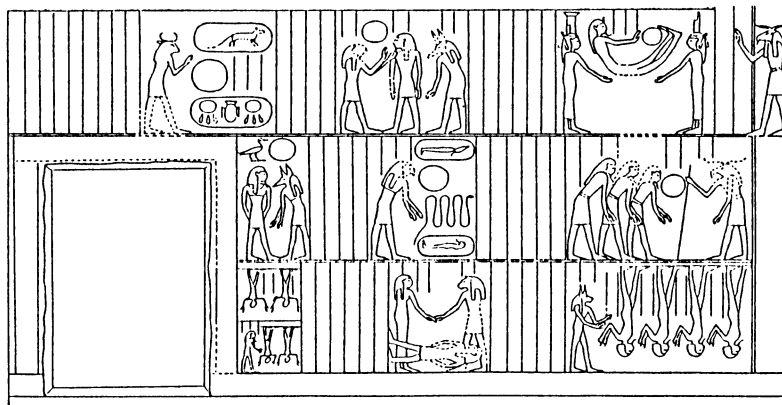


FIGURE 30 The *Book of Caverns*, Fourth Tableau in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

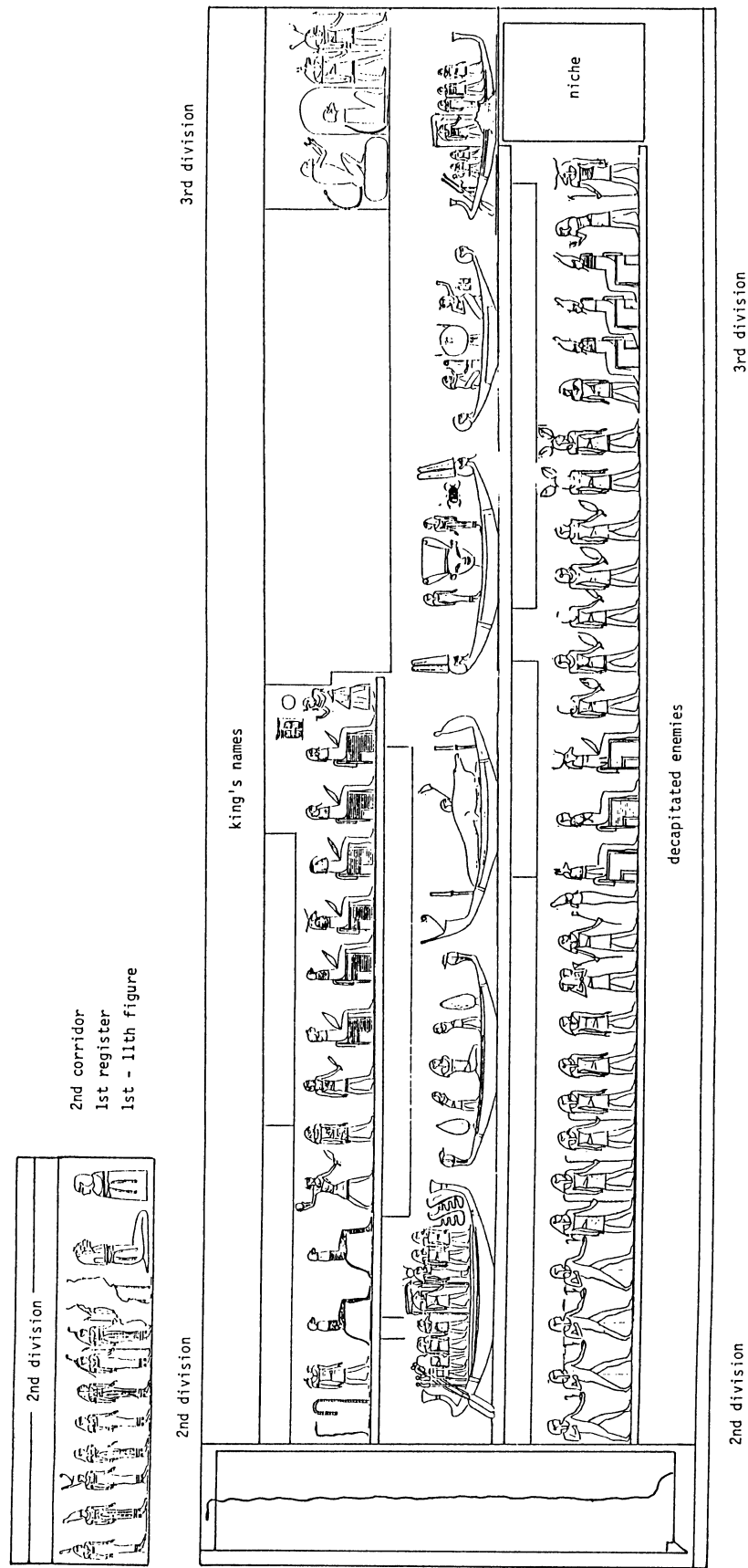


FIGURE 31 The *Imy-Duat* in the second and third corridors.

Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX

The Book of Day and the Book of Night

On the ceiling in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses IX both of these books are recited only in extract. Furthermore, the following alterations have been made: in the *Book of the Day* five worshipping, ram-headed *ba*-birds are shown, which do not normally occur in either book. They replace the row of nine worshipping figures of the king in the *Book of Day*, which figures are now shifted in to the *Book of Night*. As a result of this inconspicuous alteration, the king's figure is now shown leaving the tomb.

The Resurrection of Osiris

In the upper part of this well-known scene the king is shown in the morning and evening barge of Rē-Ḥarakhti and Atum. Ramesses IX stands in front of each god wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. He offers the image of Ma'at to the god on the left (Rē-Ḥarakhti). The image of Ma'at is flanked by the king's cartouches so that the name faces the image of Truth; the impression given is that the king's throne-name belongs to Rē-Ḥarakhti and the proper name to the king. This arrangement promotes an identification of the king with the god; it is relevant also in connection with the structure of the scenes on the wall of the sarcophagus chamber, discussed below.

The Scenes on the Ceiling of the Second and Third Corridor

The scenes on the ceiling of the third corridor in the tomb of Ramesses IX reproduce the same scenes on the ceiling of the fourth corridor in the tomb of Ramesses VI. However, the barques and manifestations of the sun god are missing. The meaning of these barques is shown in the tomb of Ramesses VI by their alignment to the real east: after the sun god's night journey they guarantee the journey of the king in the morning barques of the sun god.¹⁸ Therefore, this scene is so arranged as to face towards the entrance of the tomb of Ramesses VI. With Ramesses IX the arrangement is different: the tomb lies on the opposite side of the Valley of the Kings, and therefore opens to the west. The blessed ones are shown on their mummy biers in the west, at the beginning of the third corridor. The sun god's barques could have been accommodated, reversed to face the east, but they would then have pointed to the inner tomb. Orientation to the east, towards the entrance, was not possible because of the location of the tomb.

In the tomb of Ramesses IX, therefore, a different solution was chosen, in which the king's journey in the morning barque of the sun god was positioned in the second corridor of the tomb. On the ceiling, next to the entrance of the tomb, is shown the upper part of the scene showing the resurrection of Osiris, i.e., the king in the morning barque and the evening barque. The scene is repeated in changed form in the sarcophagus chamber, but here in the second corridor Rē-Ḥarakhti is shown hawk-headed and wearing the sun disc.¹⁹ Thus the king's

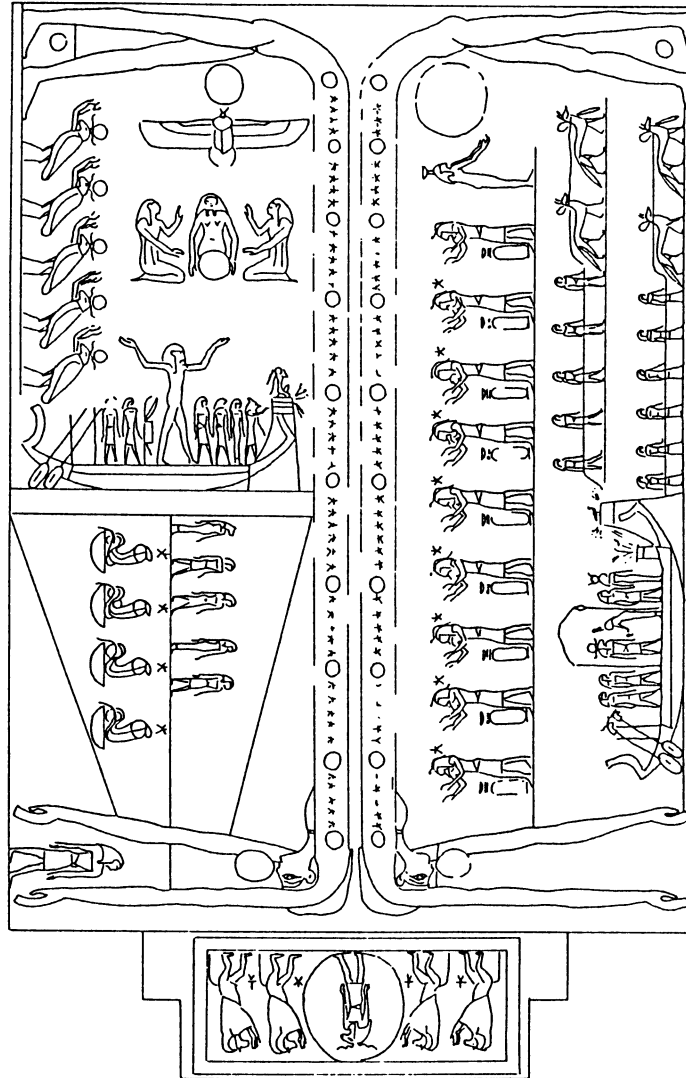


FIGURE 32 The ceiling of the sarcophagus hall.

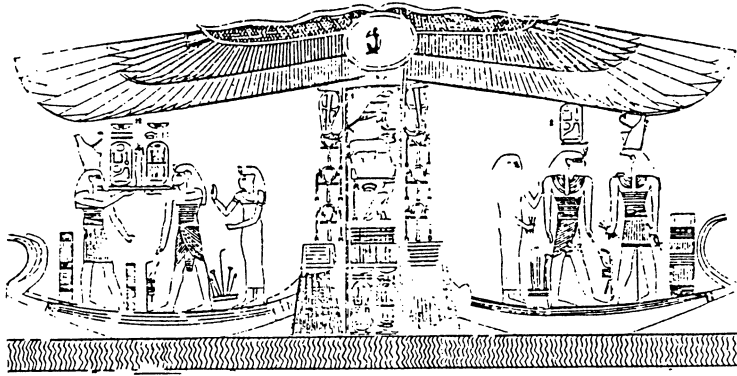


FIGURE 33 Ramesses IX, rear wall, sarcophagus hall.



FIGURE 34 Ramesses VI, anteroom ceiling.

journey with the sun god in the morning barque is guaranteed at the first possible point, next to the tomb's entrance.

The above mentioned alterations, which are almost undetectable, have one feature in common: the king is consistently shown walking out of the tomb — so the 'Coming Forth by Day'²⁰ seems to be prominent. Most of the alterations to the Books of the Underworld are to be found in those parts decorated after the death of the king. There is only one exception, at the beginning of the second corridor in the upper part of the scene showing the resurrection of Osiris. Because of this exception, it cannot be established whether these manipulations form a part of the original plan or were created later. They offer, nonetheless, a new view on the structure of the decoration, as there are no similar alterations in the Books of the Underworld to be found in any other king's tomb.

Newly Created Texts and Scenes

New creations are to be found at several places in the tomb of Ramesses IX. E. Hornung has already shown, through his edition of the enigmatic wall,²¹ that there are different methods of writing the king's names in the third corridor. Within the long text lines below the ceiling in the king's tomb the title 'Lord of the Two Lands' (*nb t3wy*) is written on one side with two herons and on the other with two scarabs, forms more typical of the Ptolemaic period. These new forms are not only found in texts executed after the death of the king, since there is a comparable writing at the beginning of the first corridor, again of a type known from Ptolemaic times. Other examples of these new writings are given elsewhere.²² Further changes can be seen in the *Litany of Rē*, which in part dates back to Ramesses IV.

In the tomb, changes are also found in the featured gods. The transformation of the king to a god takes place in front of the hawk-headed Khons-Neferhotep-Shu, a deity not otherwise found in the Valley of Kings. He says: 'I shall give you my authority, my lifetime, my seat, my throne as leader of the country and the *s'ḥ*-dignity, which I have created in the land of the west.' It may be recalled that the deification of the king, ever since the time of Sethos I, is carried out in the scene of the king before Osiris on the last wall in the upper part of the tomb, the exit wall of the first pillared hall. In the tomb of Merenptah the god Osiris has been provided with a pectoral inscribed with the king's name, an impressive form of identification.²³ There is a change in the tomb of Ramesses VI, necessitated by the new decorative plan. There, the back-to-back seated Osiris is provided, in the form of a sun disc above and a pectoral decorated with the solar barque, with the characteristics of the sun god. At the same time, the scene is three times connected with the birth of the sun: at the end of the three Books of the Underworld, including the scene of deification; on the left, in the *Book of Gates*, and right, in the *Book of Caverns*; and on the ceiling in the *Book of Day* and the *Book of Night*.²⁴ Into these Osirian scenes in the tomb of Ramesses VI the religion of the sun penetrates and gains priority over the myth of Osiris. In Ramesses IX, deification no longer takes place in front of Osiris but before a god

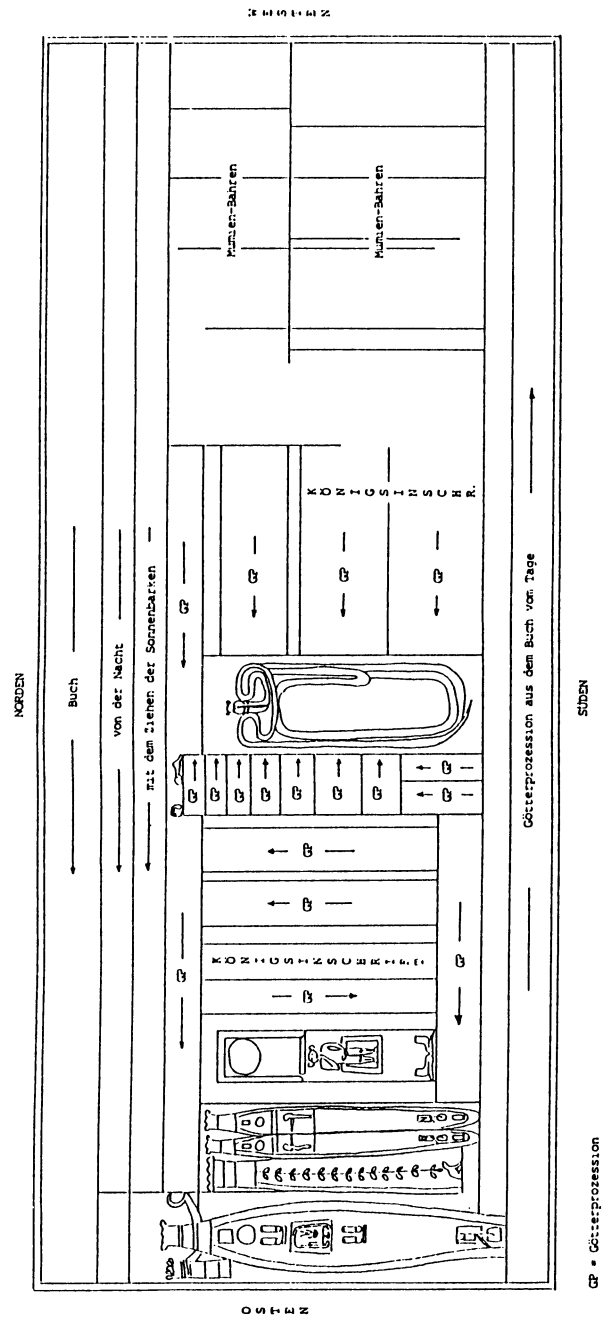


FIGURE 35 The ceiling of the fourth corridor in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

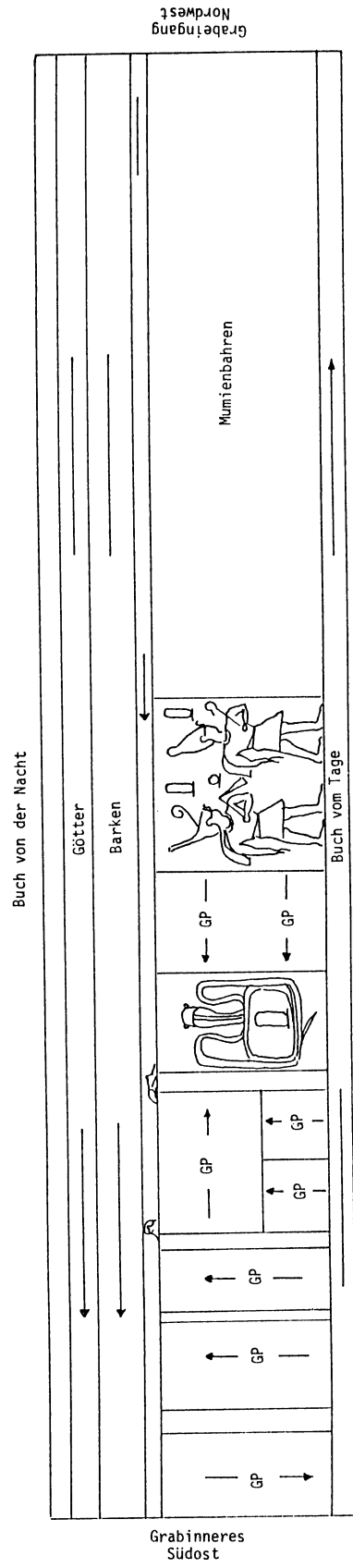


FIGURE 36 The ceiling of the third corridor in the tomb of Ramesses IX.



FIGURE 37 'Ptolemaic' hieroglyphs (in use before the Ptolemaic Period).

New forms



New forms in the Books of the Underworld

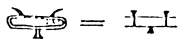
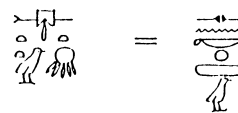
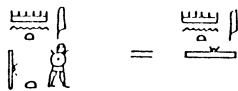


FIGURE 38 New forms.

who is none other than the son of the sun god. As H. Jacobsohn has noted: 'in the course of the syncretizing religious policy of the nineteenth dynasty Khons (with his epithet *nfr htp*) was brought into line as son of Amon-rē', into the šw as son of Re'.²⁵

The enigmatic scene in the third corridor is just as unique as the scene of the 'sloping' Osiris. It presents a complex picture of the unity between Osiris and the sun god but at the same time shows the birth of the sun. In the following three registers, with enigmatic texts, the journey of the barque is visualized in the middle register, together with the rejection of Apophis in picture and text and the birth of the sun. The scenes and texts are leaving the tomb for an unprecedented three-registered underworld journey.

The formation of the scenes in the sarcophagus chamber offers a good example of creative changes in format. I have already pointed out the manipulations which occur in the *Book of Day* and the *Book of Night*, as well as in the upper part of the scene depicting the resurrection of Osiris. The scenes of the entrance and side walls are varied. The scenes on the walls are aligned with the sarcophagus chamber, and the reading starts with the picture of Osiris in the fifth division of the *Book of Caverns*. It continues along the left side wall with its four scenes from the fifth and sixth divisions of the *Book of Caverns*. Scenes on the left side wall seem to be similar to those of the *Book of Caverns* or the *Book of the Earth*, but they have never before been used in the tomb of a king with the exception of Ramesses VII and some sarcophagi. The reading continues via the back wall and the left side of the right wall (here with a scene from the sixth division of the *Imy-duat* and two scenes from the *Book of the Earth*), and finishes at the entrance wall with the large picture of Nut from the fifth division of the *Book of Caverns*. Two large figures of Osiris and Nut flank the passage to the sarcophagus chamber. Two scenes on the right side wall are emphasized by their scale and appear to belong together: the twenty-four spells of Rē', 'Oho, I enter the "Dat" '; and the god 'The One who Hides the Hours', from the *Book of the Earth*, with twelve stars above him and twelve sun discs below. This newly shaped scheme in the sarcophagus chamber, which includes a mixture of scenes of differing origin, seems difficult to understand; further comparative investigations are necessary.

A start to our understanding may be made by considering the construction of the scenes, as the decoration of the sarcophagus chamber produces each time, in different ways, a whole day period of twenty-four hours. If we add up all the scenes, starting from the left entrance wall, passing the left side wall, we get twelve scenes; the thirteenth scene (or the first scene in a twelve-hour rhythm) is the scene of the resurrection of Osiris, placed at the rear wall of the room. A further eleven scenes follow on the right side and entrance walls. Therefore, the reading and counting of all scenes starts with Osiris and finishes with Nut. Both above-mentioned scenes, with the twenty-four spells of Rē' and the twenty-four celestial bodies of 'The One who Hides the Hours', are also counted. The ceiling of the room shows the *Book of Day* and the *Book of Night*, each with twelve hours, i.e., a daily cycle of twenty-four hours.

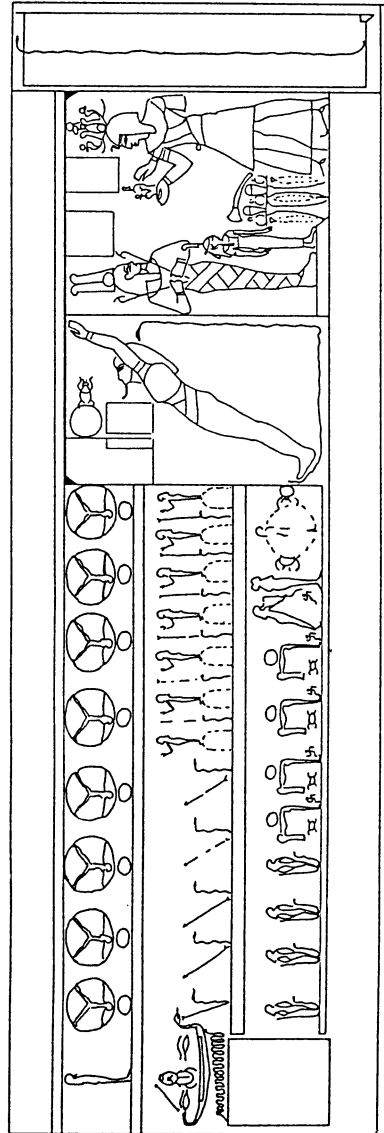


FIGURE 39 The enigmatic wall in the third corridor.

Summary

Ramesses IX took over essential decorative elements from his predecessors, especially Ramesses VI. The scenes of his tomb correspond to the concept introduced by Ramesses VI, which places a greater emphasis on the solar religion. The hitherto prominent Osiris myth, though not abandoned, declines in importance; in this respect it is a shifting of emphasis. Nevertheless, many changes have been found in the tomb of Ramesses IX, in the form of new writings, manipulations in the Books of the Underworld, and in the new arrangements of texts and scenes. This raises the question of whether the tomb contains a new religious statement or new meanings within its decoration.

The manipulations discerned in the Books of the Underworld were designed on the one hand to integrate the king into the course of the sun, and on the other, apparently, to ensure that the king might 'Come Forth by Day'. Already in the tomb of Ramesses VI the important scenes of his life in the next world are orientated towards the tomb's entrance. The multiple changes in Ramesses IX offer a new form and further development; the beginnings are already evident in the tomb of Ramesses VI.

In the use of a new, inserted element in the purification, escort and deification of the king before Khons-Neferhotep-Shu, I cannot recognize any essential deviation from the previous content — though a much stronger inclination towards the religion of the sun is now apparent from the employment of this god as son of the sun god. The same may be said of the enigmatic wall which was added into the sequence of scenes. The essential elements are the unity of Osiris and Rē in the scene of the 'sloping' Osiris, the defence of Apophis, and the birth of the sun. These elements were often represented in the tombs of kings; what is new is their orientation towards the tomb entrance.

The second purification and the opening of the mouth on the exit walls of the shaft-room by Iunmutef mark a reversion to the fourth and fifth corridor representations known in various royal tombs from the time of Sethos I. In the tomb of Ramesses IX a parallel is given in the written text, which definitely alludes to the mystic precedent whereby Horus opened his father's mouth by himself to speak to the Ennead and attain the crown.

The deviation in the scenes of the sarcophagus chamber does not represent a change of content because of the relationship of the scenes to the *Book of Caverns* and the *Book of the Earth* — though a considerable alteration has taken place in the twenty-four-hour rhythm.

The snake-guarded doors on both side walls at the beginning of the corridors are a new element. This could have been a reaction to increasing tomb robbery, intended to give further magical protection to the tomb, since not only opening texts are used but also texts for protection, which are written within the gates.

The tomb's architecture, with its traditional types of room and the contents of the decoration, corresponds in its essentials to the type created by the predecessors of Ramesses IX. The new form of writing, the new scenes and arrangements, as well as the clever manipulations in the Books of the Underworld, are all to be seen as new forms within a barely changed religious context.

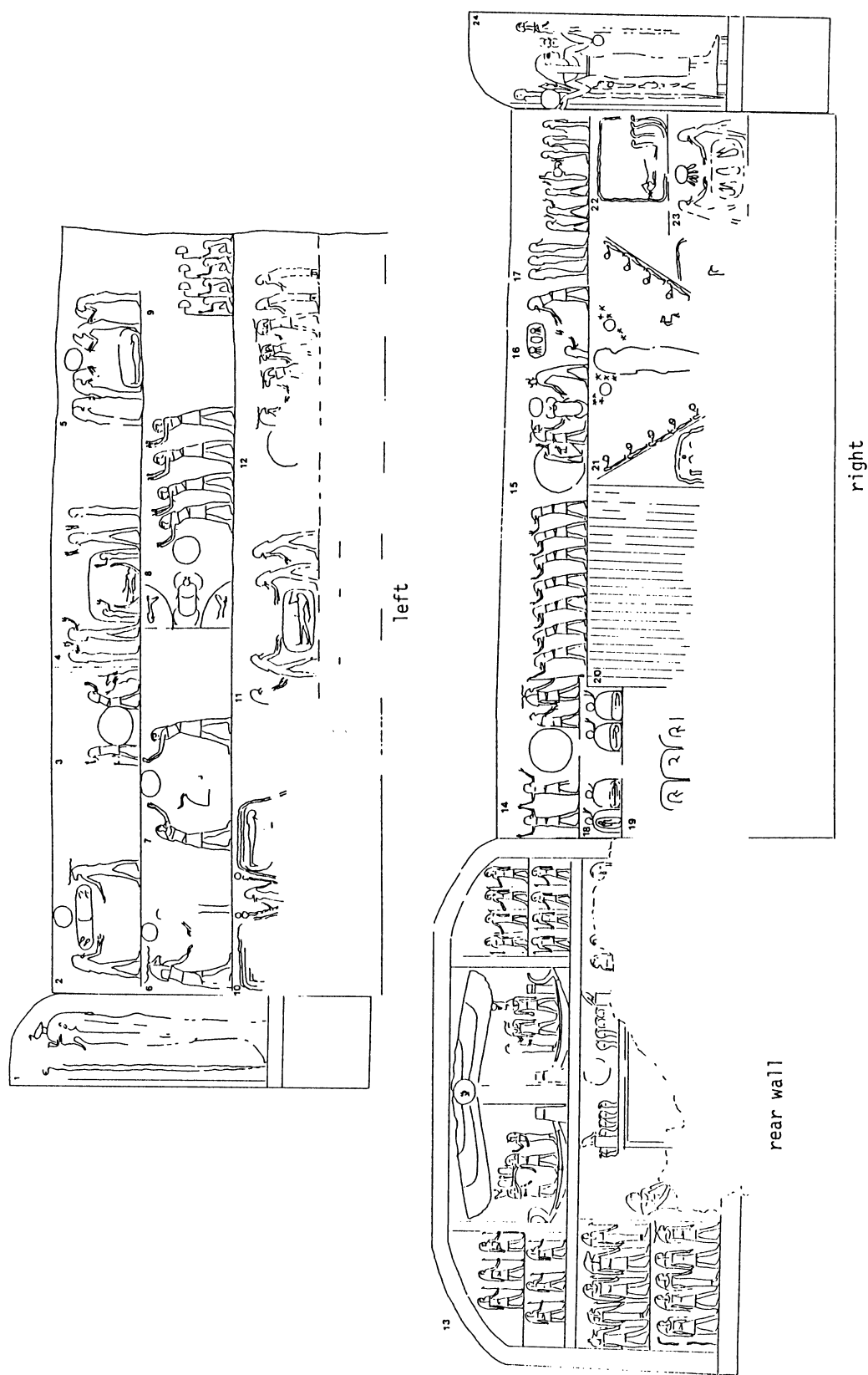


FIGURE 40 The walls of the sarcophagus hall.

The time of the later Ramessides is described as a time of decline; the political and economic situation rightly warrants this assessment. The authority of the king was greatly diminished, with power in the hands of foreign mercenaries and the priesthood. The contemporary sources report corruption, abuses in the civil service, and tomb robbery. In this respect the tomb of Ramesses IX, with its magnificent beginning and the subsequent, perhaps frequently interrupted course of its execution, provides a reflex of the political situation and the decline in kingly power. However, the tomb demonstrates also that neither the dexterity of the workmen nor the religious basis of the work was lost, as happened in other periods of decline. The power for innovation still existed, in this instance developing intelligent new forms of expression to promote the king's life in the other world. At that time, at the latest with the beginning of the execution of the tomb for Ramesses IX, an intellectual change seems to have occurred, here reflected in new forms of writing and new layouts. This, indisputably, is the opposite of paralysis in a time of decline.

Notes

- 1 F. Abitz, 'Der Bauablauf und die Dekorationen des Grabes Ramesses' IX', *SAK* 17 (1990), 1–40.
- 2 F. Guilmant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX* (MIFAO 15) (Cairo, 1907).
- 3 A. Piankoff, (ed. N. Rambova) *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (Bollingen Series XL. 1, New York, 1954).
- 4 F. Abitz, *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Rameses' VI* (OBO 89), (Freiburg, 1989).
- 5 The tomb of Ramesses X has not yet been documented; the decoration was already destroyed when R. Lepsius visited it. The tomb of Ramesses XI preserves only drawings at the beginning of the tomb.
- 6 See T. E. Peet, 'The Chronological Problems of the Twentieth Dynasty', *JEA* 14 (1928), 61 ff.; E. Hornung, *Tal der Könige. Ruhestätte der Pharaonen* (Zurich–Munich, 1982), 217.
- 7 Abitz, *Baugeschichte*, 40 ff.
- 8 Hornung, *Zwei Ramessidische Königsgräber: Ramses IV und Ramses VII* (Theben, Bd. II) (Mainz, 1990), 14.
- 9 There is no evidence for a significantly longer period than 70 days.
- 10 No name is given for this goddess. In the purification text a gate of the Goddess of the West is referred to, and it seems probable that the deity here is none other than this goddess in her manifestation as Hathor.
- 11 Abitz, *König und Gott* (Äg. Abh. 40), 17 ff.
- 12 With regard to the cessation of quarrying work after the death of the king, see Abitz, *Baugeschichte*, 37 ff.
- 13 Abitz, *Baugeschichte*, 172 ff.
- 14 With a few alterations, e.g. the change of axis.
- 15 Abitz, *Baugeschichte*, 181.
- 16 Ibid., 144 ff.
- 17 Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, I (Aegyptiaca Helvetica) (Geneva, 1987), p. 308.
- 18 Abitz, *Baugeschichte*, 144 ff.
- 19 O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, II. *The Ramesside*

Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX

Star Clocks, pl. 8, show these parts as destroyed, but the above details may be discerned from the coloured traces.

- 20 Abitz, *Baugeschichte*, 149.
- 21 Hornung, 'Eine aenigmatische Wand im Grabe Ramses' IX.', *Form und Maß, Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten* (Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht) (Wiesbaden, 1987), 226 ff.
- 22 Abitz, 'Die Veränderung von Schreibformen im Königsgrab Ramses IX.' in H. Altenmüller u. R. Germer (eds.), *Miscellanea Aegyptologica, W. Helck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 1989), 1 ff.
- 23 Abitz, *König und Gott*, 7 ff.
- 24 Abitz, *Baugeschichte*, 77 ff.
- 25 H. Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter* (Äg. Fo. 8) (Glückstadt, 1939), 56.

Aspects of the History of the Valley of the Kings in the Third Intermediate Period

JOHN H. TAYLOR

THE Third Intermediate Period, from the beginning of the Twenty-first to the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (c. 1070–664 BC), represents the last important phase of activity in the Valley of the Kings during the pharaonic period. The history of the site during these four centuries can be divided into two phases: robbery of the New Kingdom tombs and subsequent removal and caching of the burials (Twenty-first–early Twenty-second Dynasties); change in the Valley's status from that of a royal to a private cemetery (Twenty-second Dynasty) and later.

These developments in the Valley reflect the general picture of events in the Theban necropolis as a whole. The Third Intermediate Period was a time of economic contraction and insecurity. Virtually no new rock-cut tombs were constructed for private individuals at Thebes. Instead, tombs of the New Kingdom and earlier periods were reappropriated and occupied by fresh burials, though normally without the addition of new wall-paintings. There was an increasing tendency to group burials together, a move which culminated in the creation of the now famous caches: those housing the royal mummies in DB 320 and KV 35, and that of the priests of Amūn in the 'Bab el-Gasus', together with smaller groups in other tombs at Deir el-Bahri (Winlock's 'tomb 60', and tomb 358). Both the Bab el-Gasus cache and that in DB 320 appear to have been assembled at the very end of the Twenty-first Dynasty,¹ and this move was probably made in response to a decline in the ability of the necropolis officials to maintain surveillance over the tombs, a difficulty which led them to gather the surviving mummies into a few easily guarded spots.²

An additional development, beginning in the Twenty-second Dynasty, was the opening of the enclosure of the Ramesseum for use as a private cemetery, particularly for persons of high status.³ Medinet Habu was used in a similar way, though less intensively. The presence of strong enclosure walls around the precincts of these temples facilitated protection of the burials, and there is a clear parallel with the royal practice of the time in locating tombs within temple enclosures, as seen at Tanis and later (according to Herodotus) at Sais.⁴

With this background in mind, this paper concentrates on three aspects of

the history of the Valley of the Kings, which provide scope for enlarging our knowledge of the Third Intermediate Period.

The Treatment of the New Kingdom Royal Burials

The most familiar aspect of the Valley's history in the Twenty-first Dynasty is the dismantling of the royal burials of the New Kingdom, many of which had been robbed, and the secreting of the mummies in caches. The complex chronology of these activities has been discussed by others⁵ and will not be examined here, but the motivation for the treatment of the burials deserves reconsideration.

That royal tombs were being plundered during the Ramesside Period is abundantly clear. The tomb-robbery papyri, containing the records of the trials of some of the thieves, leave no doubt of this. The description in the Amherst Papyrus of how Amenpanefer and his gang robbed the pyramid-tomb of King Sebekemsaf II and Queen Nubkhaas, removing all the valuables and afterwards setting fire to the coffins,⁶ is often quoted as if typical of the treatment meted out to the royal mummies. It may be questioned, however, how far this incident is truly representative. Sebekemsaf and his wife certainly fared worse than other rulers buried nearby, whose coffins, together with a number of other trappings, have survived (the three Intefs, Seqenenrē' Ta'ō, Kamose, and the 'early' Queen 'Aḥhotpe). Nonetheless, the royal burials were clearly at risk, and the authorities at Thebes eventually responded by removing the royal mummies from their tombs and reinterring them elsewhere.

The evidence for the reburials comes chiefly from the dockets written on the wrappings and coffins of the royal mummies, recording their transfer from their original resting places to new ones; and also from graffiti in some of the tombs.⁷ The work was carried out under the oversight of the High Priests of Amūn — with the agreement on one occasion of the goddess Mut, presumably delivered in the form of an oracular statement⁸ — and it was done chiefly by the officials in charge of the Theban necropolis. The rewrapping of the bodies took place at the administrative centre of the West Bank, Medinet Habu, and perhaps also in some of the Valley tombs.⁹ This activity was going on as early as year 6 of the *whm mswt* era and continued as late as the reign of Shoshenq I.¹⁰

By the time the royal mummies reached their final resting places, they had been stripped of nearly all their trappings and were no longer accompanied by their original burial equipment. Some had no coffins, while others were lying in coffins usurped from private individuals. Where original coffins did survive, they had been extensively stripped of their gilding and precious inlays. This stripping, however, was not the work of robbers but should rather be attributed to the officials responsible for reburying the mummies; for although the gold leaf had been scraped and adzed from the wooden surfaces, certain areas had been deliberately left untouched, to prevent the destruction of elements of the decoration which carried special religious import. The coffin of Seqenenrē' Ta'ō illustrates this point. The inlaid eyes were removed and the gold leaf stripped from the greater part of the surface, but the uraeus, the falcon-headed terminals of the

collar, the vulture of Nekhbet on the breast, the name of Ptah-Sokar in the text, and the designs under the feet (incorporating a short text and two *sm3-t3wy* motifs) were all left intact. The areas from which gilding had been removed were made good with yellow paint, and the central inscription was restored in a like manner.¹¹

Similar 'restoration' work is found on the coffins of Amosis, 'Aḥmose-Nefertari and 'Aḥhotpe, all from the DB 320 cache,¹² and also on the coffins of Queen Meryetamūn from tomb 358, whose burial is known to have been restored in the Twenty-first Dynasty. Here again the gold leaf had been carefully removed from the outer surviving coffin, which had then been painted in rough imitation of the original gilded and inlaid surface. The inner coffin was subjected to even more extensive restoration. After removal of its gilded surface, which resulted in the loss of its *rishi* decoration, it was repainted with a collar and text and colour scheme totally unrelated to the original design.¹³ Clearly this treatment was not the work of robbers but was done by persons showing a limited amount of respect for the deceased.¹⁴ John Romer's clearance of KV 4 revealed evidence, in the form of splinters of wood and gilding fragments from royal funerary equipment, that this was one of the sites where the stripping was carried out.¹⁵

It has usually been supposed that the royal burials had suffered extensive and often repeated plundering long before the necropolis officials gathered up the remains, and that what few valuables survived were removed by the restorers of the Twenty-first Dynasty in a pious effort to spare the dead rulers further violation by removing all temptation to potential robbers. In an alternative interpretation of the evidence, however, C. N. Reeves makes two important assertions on this subject:

- (a) that most of the New Kingdom royal burials were still substantially intact until the serious outbreak of robberies in the reign of Ramesses XI;¹⁶
- (b) that the dismantling of the tomb contents and removal of the valuables was prompted not simply by a desire to protect the dead, but also by economic necessity — in fact that any material of intrinsic value which had survived was appropriated by the state to subsidize its weak financial condition.¹⁷

Reeves demonstrates that the evidence for plundering in the Valley tombs indicates one spate of thefts during the Amarna Period and its aftermath, and another in the Twentieth Dynasty.¹⁸ The known robberies were small-scale affairs, causing minimal damage, which — when discovered — was generally repaired, and the tombs resealed. The last years of the Twentieth Dynasty, however, witnessed more serious thefts, and a change in the official attitude towards the royal mummies becomes apparent. This is manifested in the treatment of the bodies and their trappings, referred to above.¹⁹ Reeves also points to a statement in one of the Late Ramesside Letters, dating to year 10 of the *whm mswt*, from which we learn that the general and High Priest of Amūn Pi'ankh had ordered Butehamūn to 'uncover a tomb amongst the foremost tombs (or: tombs of the ancestors) and preserve its seal until I return'.²⁰ This suggests that a tomb might be entered for other reasons besides that of repairing damage, and Reeves sees

this as evidence for an official policy of opening the tombs in order to confiscate any valuables they contained,²¹ which would then be channelled into the coffers of the administration. In the case of the Pi'ankh letter the action may have been prompted by the need to pay for campaigning against Paneḥesy, the rebel Viceroy of Nubia.²²

It has been suggested that a large proportion of the valuables removed from the royal burials may ultimately have found their way into the tombs of the Tanite pharaohs of the Twenty-first Dynasty,²³ but this does not seem very likely. It is true that objects bearing the names of New Kingdom rulers were discovered among the funerary equipment of Psusennes I and others,²⁴ but none of them is demonstrably from the Valley of the Kings and may derive from temple magazines or other sources located at Tanis itself.²⁵

The impoverished state of Egypt at the end of the New Kingdom supports Reeves' argument. The country was suffering from weak government, corrupt administration, and high food prices. Major sources of revenue in the form of 'tribute' from the Levant had dried up, and the Nubian gold mines were becoming exhausted. Shortage of resources and civil unrest are reflected in the cessation of tomb building at Thebes. Raw materials were costly and in short supply, particularly wood. We need only consider the difficulties experienced by Wenamūn in trying to obtain timber from Byblos to construct a new barque for Amūn. Most striking is the reuse of wooden coffins, a phenomenon commonly attested from the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period and one which seems to have reached a climax during the Twenty-first Dynasty. The evidence for this consists principally of the erasure of the name and titles of the original owner, and their replacement by those of a second occupant. Sometimes physical alterations were made as well, to render a man's coffin appropriate to receive the corpse of a woman, and vice versa.²⁶ How far this practice was officially sanctioned is difficult to tell. Several members of the family of the High Priests of Amūn were buried in reused coffins, which suggests that the practice was regarded as acceptable by the authorities. Yet there is evidence that illicit usurpation was sometimes carried out by necropolis workers.²⁷

It is logical to suppose that, if, in this situation, the administration was forced to take the drastic step of despoiling the royal mummies, those of lesser persons would not be exempt. Is there any evidence that similar treatment was accorded to the private burials of the New Kingdom?

Although written evidence is absent, there are several suggestive circumstances. The reoccupation of the tombs is proof enough that the original burials were no longer intact, but it is striking that no caches of mummies of private persons of the New Kingdom have come to light. Indeed private coffins from this period are distinctly uncommon, when compared with the numbers surviving from later periods. The scarcity is particularly marked for Dynasties XIX and XX. The peculiarity is compounded by the fact that a relatively large number of shabtis, shabti-boxes, funerary papyri, canopic jars etc. are known, which belonged to individuals whose mummies and coffins are not extant. On consideration of some of the few surviving private coffins of the New Kingdom, an explanation may suggest itself.

One of the most celebrated groups is the coffin ensemble of the Songstress of Amūn Ḥenutmehyt (British Museum EA 48001), whose burial was found undisturbed although the exact circumstances of the find are not known.²⁸ Although the lady was not ostensibly of high rank (her only title is *šm'yt n 'Imn*), her coffins were very fine and were richly gilded. Another lady of this period, Tamutnofret, was provided with rich coffins, now in the Louvre,²⁹ which were perhaps made in the same workshop as those of Ḥenutmehyt. Furthermore, the architect Kha and his wife Meryt, whose unrifled tomb at Deir el-Medi-na was discovered by Schiaparelli, were also buried in gilded coffins, although neither was apparently of high status.

It is possible that, in the course of clearing out New Kingdom private tombs to make them available for new interments, the officials dismantled any original burials which had survived and appropriated their valuables. As the smaller items, such as shabtis, were not usually of intrinsic value they may have been left behind (as many of the smaller items of royal funerary furniture were abandoned in the Valley tombs). The coffins and masks, on the other hand, were the objects most likely to be gilded and inlaid with precious stones. This might explain why we have so few private coffins of the New Kingdom.³⁰

In short, Reeves' interpretation can be accommodated well into this picture of events on the Theban West Bank as a whole at this time. This practice of removing the valuables from the burials may have continued for more than half a century; at any rate it was still occurring after the death of Pinūdjem I (c. 1032 BC), about forty or more years later than the Pi'ankh letter, since Pinūdjem's coffins were themselves stripped in the way described above. Perhaps significantly, all the later members of the family of the High Priests whose funerary equipment is extant were buried in ordinary painted coffins, a gilded face and hands being the only extravagance they permitted themselves.

The Reuse of New Kingdom Royal Burial Equipment

What happened to those items of royal burial equipment which were not readily convertible into funds? From the objects found in tombs KV 16, 17, 22, 34, 43, 57, and others in the royal valley it is clear that many smaller items — statues, furniture, shabtis, vessels, weapons, models, horse-harness, etc. — were simply left behind. Some other pieces were put to other uses, however, and study of these is instructive (see pls. XIX–XXIV).

The sarcophagi in several of the more accessible tombs seem to have been the focus of considerable attention. The two outermost of Merenptah's four sarcophagi³¹ were carefully dismantled, the lids being set aside and the massive cases broken up and many of the pieces removed, in all probability to serve as raw material for making other monuments. Several of the sarcophagus cases from other tombs in the Valley were broken up in a similar manner³². As is well-known, Merenptah's third sarcophagus (Cairo JE 87297 A, B) was removed intact and appropriated for the burial of Psusennes I at Tanis. The reason for the selection of this particular sarcophagus is unknown, but the destruction of the two

receptacles in which it originally lay may have been prompted initially by the difficulty of extracting it³³.

The best-known examples of Theban royal burial equipment which were reused in the Third Intermediate Period are the coffins appropriated by the High Priest of Amūn Pinūdjem I. These were discovered in DB 320 in 1881 containing the mummy of a man whose identity remains a matter for debate. The coffins were much damaged, having been stripped of their gilded surfaces in the manner described above. Inscriptions on the insides showed that they had once held the body of Pinūdjem I, but traces of an earlier underlying decorative scheme, visible on the exterior, revealed that the original owner had been Tuthmosis I.³⁴ The refurbishment of these coffins on the orders of Pinūdjem was exceptionally lavish for the period, with large sections of gilding and inlay work.³⁵ But why did he use coffins which were then between four and five hundred years old? John Romer describes the reuse of the coffins as 'an antiquarian gesture', reflecting Pinūdjem's strong interest in the New Kingdom pharaohs whose bodies he was restoring.³⁶ This, however, is hardly convincing, and we must look further afield for an explanation.

One possible answer suggests itself from a consideration of Pinūdjem's elevation from High Priest to the status of 'King' in the latter part of his career. This occurred in year 15 or 16 of the reign of the Tanite pharaoh Smendes I.³⁷ The reasons are still uncertain,³⁸ but it is clear that from this point in time Pinūdjem's status was approaching, if not equal to, that of the pharaoh in Tanis. The office of High Priest of Amūn devolved in turn upon Pinūdjem's sons Masaharta, Djed-khonsef'ankh, and Menkheperre', and important offices were heaped on other members of his family.

Although Pinūdjem I was recognized as king throughout his southern domain,³⁹ and even in Tanis as co-ruler with Smendes, his kingship was nominal, and he did not adopt his own regnal years.⁴⁰ The situation was irregular and may have provoked resistance. The celebrated inscription on the 'Banishment Stela', describes how the High Priest Menkheperre' defeated and banished an unidentified 'enemy' at Thebes in year 25 of Smendes.⁴¹ Although the text draws a discreet veil over the exact circumstances, there was clearly an insurrection of some kind at Thebes, perhaps indicating opposition to Pinūdjem's status as 'king'. Also to be taken into account are the strange alterations made to the decoration at the entrance to the Karnak Khonsu Temple, where reliefs depicting Pinūdjem as a royal personage, but with High Priestly titles, were altered to remove the pretensions to royalty.⁴² These factors may reflect an uncertainty or weakness in Pinūdjem's claim to kingly status, at least in the earlier part of his 'reign'.

The years during which Pinūdjem's status was raised were marked by intensive restoration of New Kingdom royal burials, and it has been suggested that the prestige deriving from this activity may have contributed to the strong influence he held at this time.⁴³ It may, therefore, be reasonable to view his adoption of the coffins of Tuthmosis I as an extra measure to support a shaky claim to kingship, by associating himself very directly with one of the most renowned pharaohs of the New Kingdom. If so it is ironic and amusing that Tuthmosis I acted as the focus of this attention, since Hatshepsut, more than four hundred



PLATE XIX Shabti of Ramesses II, Brooklyn 08.480.5, front and rear views. *Photos: Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund*



PLATE XX Shabti of Ramesses II, converted into an Osiris statuette in the Third Intermediate Period, British Museum EA 69672, front and rear views. *Photos: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*



PLATE XXI British Museum EA 69672, right and left side views. *Photos: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*



PLATE XXII Black varnished wooden Osiris statuette inscribed for the Chief Craftsman of the Estate of Amūn, Amenmose, early Twenty-second Dynasty, British Museum EA 9769, front and rear views. *Photos: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*

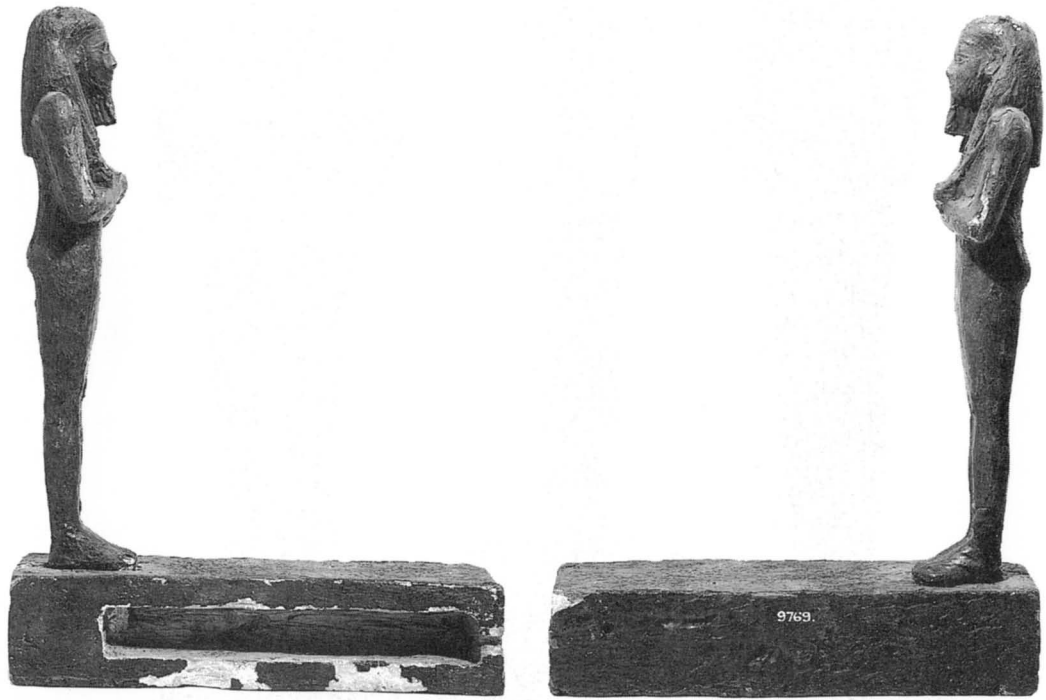


PLATE XXIII British Museum EA 9769, right and left side views. *Photos: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*



PLATE XXIV Right: Osiris statuette of the Chief Craftsman of the Estate of Amūn, Amenmose, British Museum EA 9769. Left: shabti of Ramesses II, converted into an Osiris statuette of the same type, British Museum EA 69672. *Photos: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*

years before, and in rather different circumstances, had endeavoured to strengthen her unconventional right to rule by asserting her descent from, and recommendation by, the same king.

The recycling of objects with royal associations may also have had other implications. Another is suggested by the consideration of a wooden shabti figure of Ramesses II, now in the British Museum (EA 69672) (see pls. XX–XXI, XXIV).⁴⁴ It was donated in 1883 by ‘Rogers Bey’ of Cairo (i.e. Edward Rogers, formerly owner of the ‘Rogers Tablet’ from the DB 320 cache),⁴⁵ but its provenance is unknown. It is interesting, firstly because shabtis of Ramesses II are rare in any case, but more so because it has undergone extensive alteration in antiquity.

In its original state the figure resembled the shabtis of Ramesses II in Brooklyn (08.480.5) (see pl. XIX) and Chicago (Oriental Institute 10781).⁴⁶ It represents the king grasping two hoes and has the text of chapter 6 of the *Book of the Dead*, carved in seven horizontal lines around the lower body. In the alterations made to the shabti the pose of the figure was retained (dimensions: total height, including base, 40.5 cm; width at elbows, 10.1 cm; width of base, 7.7 cm; length of base, 24.5 cm), but the royal ‘nemes’ headcloth was cut down; the projecting side-pieces were sliced off, the fullness at the back reduced, the angularity of the top diminished, the uraeus removed, and the curved outline of the lappets straightened. The intention was clearly to convert the wig from the royal headcloth into the tripartite type found on representations of deities. To increase the width of the wig across the back, the spaces on each side of the nemes queue were probably filled in with crude mud plaster or dung (traces of this filling remain at the rear of the right shoulder). The whole figure was then overlaid with a thin layer of this filling material and given a generous coating of black varnish or resin (much of which has now been lost). A headdress consisting of ‘black plumes & disk’ was attached by means of a wooden peg to the top of the wig.⁴⁷ The whole figure was mounted on a long rectangular block of wood, similarly plastered and varnished.

The purpose of the alterations was clearly to convert the shabti into a figure of Osiris, with crossed arms and feathered crown. Such figures began to appear in private burials in the Nineteenth Dynasty and became quite numerous during the early Third Intermediate Period. They were often used as receptacles for a funerary papyrus, and several different types can be recognized. The type to which the Rogers figure belongs, with slender body, tripartite wig, feather crown, and black-varnished surface, is characteristic of the late Twenty-first and early Twenty-second Dynasties.⁴⁸ A good example, which closely parallels the Rogers figure, is British Museum EA 9769, which belonged to a Chief Craftsman of the Estate of Amūn Amenmose (see pls. XXII–XXIV). As was often the case, the papyrus was placed in a cavity hollowed out of the base.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, no inscription survives to provide the name of the person for whom the Ramesses II statuette was modified.⁵⁰ It is, of course, possible that the reuse of the figure was purely fortuitous, the shabti perhaps lying conveniently to hand in a craftsman’s workshop, and the absence of any cavity in the figure or in the base, into which a papyrus might have been inserted, is also strange. Two alternative explanations can, however, be offered:

(1) It is possible that some magical benefit was thought to accrue to the owner of the figure through its original royal associations. The high value placed on royal names as embodiments of divine efficacy should not be overlooked here, and it may be that the presence of the cartouche of Ramesses II on the figure was a determining factor in its adoption for use as an Osirian statuette. Other evidence for a belief in the virtue of such royal associations is to be found in two funerary texts, each known from a small number of examples. The first text occurs on several papyri found with mummies of the Twenty-first Dynasty in the Bab el-Gasus, and is entitled 'The book that was found at the neck of the mummy of King Ramesses II in the necropolis'.⁵¹ An almost identical heading occurs in several copies of Supplementary Chapter 166 of the *Book of the Dead* (identified by Pleyte). This is found on several papyri dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty.⁵² Here it reads: 'The book that was found at the neck of King Userma'atrē-setep(enrē) in the necropolis'.⁵³ The actual texts are unremarkable and do not concern us here. It is the titles which are of interest. Of course other chapters of the *Book of the Dead* are credited with pedigrees which allege their great antiquity, dating their discovery to the reigns of kings of the Old Kingdom and even earlier. The titles of the texts under consideration, however, are different in character and seem to point towards a reverence for the kings of the recent past, and a belief in some benefit deriving from the association.⁵⁴

Although Niwiński regards the statement of the discovery of these texts as spurious,⁵⁵ on the grounds that no such 'books' were found on the mummy of Ramesses II when it was unwrapped in 1886, it is surely probable that documents could have come to light during the rewrapping of the mummy in the Twenty-first Dynasty and could have been removed at that time.⁵⁶ It is interesting to note here that a small papyrus was found on the mummy of Tut'ankhamūn but was so badly decayed that it could not be read.⁵⁷ The existence of the cartouches of Ramesses II on the British Museum shabti figure may then have been a crucial factor in the selection of this piece as the basis for the Osirian statuette, and similar considerations could equally well have been influential in the reuse of the Tuthmosis I coffins.

(2) In Theban private burials of the tenth century BC (essentially those of the priests of Amūn) there was a marked tendency to usurp royal prerogatives and attributes. This is especially noticeable in the iconography of coffins and funerary papyri — a point to which R. van Walsem has recently drawn attention.⁵⁸ Subjects formerly of purely 'royal' character began to appear on private monuments. Most obvious is the adoption of the *Imy-Duat* on papyri and coffins.⁵⁹ There are also scenes deriving ultimately from temple reliefs, where the deceased is substituted for the king as the officiant before deities and sometimes a royal attributes such as the crook and flail.⁶⁰

This tendency is most strongly marked in the late Twenty-first and early Twenty-second Dynasties, and van Walsem suggests that it may have been a factor in determining the Libyan pharaohs' new policy towards the Theban area — notably the curbing of the independence of the influential members of the Theban

clergy under discussion — which is apparent from the reign of Shoshenq I.⁶¹ The changes in the character of funerary equipment which occur at that time are so drastic and so sudden that some interference from the highest authorities must be suspected. It is precisely at this period that black-varnished Osiris figures of the type being discussed were in use. It may then be legitimate to regard the use of a New Kingdom royal shabti as the basis for one of these statuettes as one more manifestation of this conscious move towards strengthening the links between the divine and the human?

The Use of the Main Valley and the West Valley for Non-royal Burials

The reuse of Theban private tombs occurred throughout the Twenty-first Dynasty — particularly in its later years — but most intensively during the Libyan Period (essentially the Twenty-second Dynasty), with a slight falling off in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, when Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri was becoming the most favoured spot. The royal valley shows a similar pattern of use. Intrusive private burials (in various states of disarray) have been identified in several tombs:

In KV 4 (Ramesses XI), besides the fragments of New Kingdom royal funerary equipment mentioned above, Romer found traces of burials dating to the Third Intermediate Period.⁶² There were several fragments of cartonnage, of a type in common use throughout the Twenty-second Dynasty, and part of a wooden coffin of approximately the same date, which perhaps belonged with the cartonnage. The skeletal remains suggest the presence of up to three bodies.

In KV 19 Belzoni discovered several mummies, the whereabouts of which are now unknown. The finds were never fully described, but a reference by l'Hôte to 'morceaux du cercueil en carton peint'⁶³ suggests that at least one of the burials dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty.

In WV 22 (Amenophis III) Carter found the remains of two intrusive burials in the well.⁶⁴ These were evidently left in the tomb, and fragments were recovered by Jiro Kondo in his recent work there. The style of the coffin fragment found by Kondo suggests that these burials were placed in the tomb in the seventh century BC. The forms of the personal names associated with these burials are quite in keeping with such a date.⁶⁵

In WV 25 Belzoni discovered eight mummies in coffins, apparently intact. These he apparently left in the tomb,⁶⁶ but the clearance by the University of Minnesota Expedition in 1972 recovered only small fragments of the bodies.⁶⁷ It has been assumed, on the basis of Belzoni's rather vague account, that one or more of these bodies may have been of New Kingdom date, having been reinterred, along with other corpses in the Twenty-first or Twenty-Second Dynasty.⁶⁸ Belzoni's description of the coffins and wrappings is not clear enough to permit an estimate

of date from stylistic evidence. Schaden, however, reported finding cartonnage fragments during the 1972 investigations, which suggests that at least some of the burials dated to the Libyan Period.

In KV 34 (Tuthmosis III) two unnamed intrusive mummies were discovered (Cairo CG 61099, 61100).⁶⁹ Elliot Smith unwrapped CG 61100 in 1905 and decided, on the grounds of the embalming technique and method of wrapping, that the mummy belonged to the 'late dynastic or early Ptolemaic' period. Significantly, however, he adds 'the mode of wrapping the body was obviously inspired by that in vogue in the XXIst and XXIInd Dynasties, of which it represents a degenerate form'. The shape and constructional details of the coffin shown in Smith's illustration point strongly to the Twenty-second Dynasty as the real date of these burials.

In KV 44 Carter found, besides meagre traces of New Kingdom burials, three intact mummies in coffins of classic Twenty-second Dynasty type.⁷⁰ Two of the bodies were in cartonnage cases, and within the wrappings of one of these (belonging to the lady Tentkerer) were leather 'mummy braces' stamped with the cartouches of Osorkon I, thus indicating the date of the burial. The description of the other coffins indicates that, though without dates, they were approximately contemporary with those of Tentkerer.

In KV 45 Carter discovered two burials, apparently undisturbed but much damaged by rainwater. Carter's account of the coffins and shabtis, together with the name and title of one of the owners (a Doorkeeper of the Estate of Amūn Merenkhonsu) strongly suggest that these interments date to the Twenty-second Dynasty.⁷¹

Evidence of possible reuse — in the form of unidentified human remains — has also been found in KV 2, KV 11, KV 14, KV 15, KV 16, KV 21, WV 24, KV 27, KV 28, KV 39, KV 47, and KV 57.⁷² It is conceivable that these burials may have been those of private individuals of the Third Intermediate Period, but in the absence of corroborative evidence this cannot be proved.

The available evidence indicates that the burials in tombs 4, 34, 44, and 45 date to the Twenty-second Dynasty, while at least some of those in tombs 19 and 25 are likely to have been of the same date. None of them can be securely dated earlier than the reign of Osorkon I,⁷³ and those for which a cartonnage case was provided cannot in any case predate the reign of Shoshenq I, as this type of coffin is unknown before then.⁷⁴ The latest of the intrusive burials which can be dated are those from WV 22, which can be assigned to the seventh century.

On balance it seems likely that the Valley was not made available for private burials until after the final closure of the royal cache in DB 320, probably shortly after the 11th year of the reign of Shoshenq I. The reign of Shoshenq I saw a change in the position of Thebes in relation to the rest of Egypt and appears to have left its mark on activity in the Theban necropolis. This may well have been the time at which the Main Valley and the Western Valley were opened to private

use, an event which perhaps coincided with the change in status of the Ramesseum (see above, p. 186).

The relatively minor titles of the persons interred in the Valley in the Twenty-second Dynasty and the simple character of several of the burials suggest that they were not of high rank. Some indeed (such as the two found in KV 34) must have been relatively poor, since they were buried in plain, uninscribed coffins. Hence the Valley does not appear to have been as desirable a place for burial as, for example, the Ramesseum cemetery, where many of the most important members of Theban society were then being interred. It is likely that some of the tombs in the royal valley took on the role of family vaults. The pair-burials in tombs 22, 34, and 45 may well be those of husbands and wives. There is no doubt that some of the sepulchres in the Valley of the Queens were used in this way by the families of Theban clergy and officials of modest rank in the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties (tombs of Khaemwese and Sety-her-khepeshef).⁷⁵

The distribution of the undoubtedly Third Intermediate burials in the Kings' Valley might appear, at first sight, to follow some pattern. Tombs 4, 44, and 45, for example, all lie in close proximity. Other tombs known to have been used at this time, however, are situated at the extremities of the Valley (e.g. 19 and 34). While it is possible that the central area was made 'out of bounds' for private use, to ensure that the KV 35 cache was not disturbed, it is more likely that the entire valley was used without restriction. If the undated fragmentary burials found in other tombs date to the Third Intermediate Period (though this is purely speculative), a much more intensive use of the valley for private interments might be envisaged. The locations of some tombs in the valley seem to have been lost even before the end of the New Kingdom, as indicated by the fact that workmen constructing the tombs of Twosre and Ramesses V/VI accidentally broke into earlier sepulchres whose sites must have been then unknown. Given these circumstances, it is all the more remarkable that the KV 35 cache survived undisturbed until 1898, and the tomb of Tut'ankhamūn until 1922.

Conclusions

In this manner, as a second-rate burial ground for the less affluent inhabitants of Thebes, the Valley of the Kings passed into obscurity. The old romantic notion of its decline, with devoted priests lovingly rewrapping the bodies of the dead rulers, saving whatever they could from the grasp of insatiable tomb robbers, and finally, stumbling along at night, dragging the mummies to their last, secret resting places — much of this must now be relegated to the realm of fantasy. The picture which recent research has painted may be less attractive and more prosaic, but it has the ring of truth. The Twenty-first Dynasty was a time when pious sentiment was perhaps an expensive luxury. The rulers of the southern domain were badly in need of funds, and the means of boosting their prestige. The royal mummies met both these requirements. Restoration of the corpses of the great rulers of the past, carried out with divine assent, provided *kudos* for the High Priests who supervised it, while the valuables left by robbers could be appropriated for the

economy. Thus the New Kingdom pharaohs were deprived of the last vestiges of their worldly wealth to relieve the stresses on the once-healthy economy they had done so much to create.

Notes

- 1 A. Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes. Chronological and Typological Studies* (Mainz am Rhein, 1988), 29.
- 2 Id., op. cit. 28–9; id., *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries BC* (Freiburg – Göttingen, 1989), 37.
- 3 J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London, 1898), 9 ff; F. Hassanein, G. Lecuyot, A-M. Loyrette and M. Nelson, 'La Necropole de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire du Ramesseum I implantée sur les aménagements périphériques du temple et de ses annexes', *SAK Beiheft* 2 (1988), 181–97, Taf. 14–16.
- 4 R. Stadelmann, 'Das Grab im Tempelhof. Der Typus des Königsgrabes in der Spätzeit', *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 111–23, Taf. 16.
- 5 See, most recently, C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings. The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London, 1990), 181–268, 277.
- 6 T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, I (Oxford 1930), 48–9.
- 7 Reeves, op. cit. 225.
- 8 E. Thomas, 'The *ky* of Queen Inhapy', *JARCE* 16 (1979), 85.
- 9 Reeves, op. cit. 230–1.
- 10 Id., op. cit. 234–9.
- 11 G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Cairo, 1909), 1–2, pl. 1–2.
- 12 Daressy, op. cit. 3–4, 8–9, pl. 3–4, 8–9.
- 13 H. E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn at Thebes* (New York, 1932), 52.
- 14 Reeves, op. cit. 123.
- 15 M. Ciccarello and J. Romer, *A Preliminary Report of the Recent Work in the tombs of Ramesses X and XI in the Valley of the Kings* (San Francisco, 1979), 3–4, 9–10; M. Ciccarello, *The Graffito of Pinutem I in the tomb of Ramesses XI* (San Francisco, 1979), 2; Reeves, op. cit. 123. This process was sometimes done 'on the spot'; one of the over-lifesize royal 'guardian' statues found in the tomb of Haremhab had been painstakingly stripped of its gilding by adzing away the surface: T. Davis, G. Maspero, G. Daressy, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatânkhamanou* (London, 1912), 101–2, pl. 79. Cf. also the wooden statue head, Cairo CG 24635, from the tomb of Amenophis II, from which the gold and inlaid eyes had been removed: G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois* (Cairo, 1902), 164, pl. 35.
- 16 Reeves, op. cit. 273–8.
- 17 Id., op. cit. 123, 276–8. J. Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (London, 1981), 143, suggested that the removal of some of the valuables from the mummies may have been done by the restorers.
- 18 Reeves, op. cit. 273.
- 19 Not all the royal mummies were relieved of their valuables, the most obvious exception being that of Queen 'Aḥhotpe, discovered by Mariette's workmen in 1859. The gilded *rishi* coffin, containing the mummy and its collection of jewellery, was evidently removed from her tomb and reburied in antiquity, although the intrinsic value of the objects involved must have been substantial. The remains of the burials of several kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty seem also to have been cached: Kamose, the three Intefs and possibly even Sebekemsaf II (if anything was ever recovered from the

- plundering of his tomb): M. Dewachter, 'Nouvelles informations relatives à l'exploitation de la nécropole royale de Drah Aboul Neggah', *RdE* 36 (1985), 46–7, 63–4; M. J. Raven, 'The Antef Diadem reconsidered', *OMRO* 68 (1989), 84. Here again, it is interesting that the finer of the coffins of the Intefs (British Museum EA 6652 and Louvre E.3019) were not stripped of their gold leaf and inlaid eyes, while portable items of value such as the 'Intef Diadem', were also spared. It is not clear why this royal group should have been treated differently to those which were eventually placed in the DB 320 and KV 35 caches. The absence of any recognizable dockets recording the removal of the earlier burials may indicate that their transfer was not part of the 'programme' which affected the others. While their reburial may have occurred at a different time, it cannot predate the reign of Ramesses IX, since the tombs of Nubkheperre¹ and Sekhemre²-wepma³at Intef were found to be intact by the inspection committee which visited the Theban necropolis in that king's sixteenth regnal year: Peet, *op. cit.* 38.
- 20 E. F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967), 61.
 - 21 Reeves, *op. cit.* 277.
 - 22 For a directly contrary view of the situation, according to which the tombs in the Valley of the Kings were plundered by Panehesy's troops, see C. Aldred, 'More Light on the Ramesside Tomb Robberies', in J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa, K. A. Kitchen, *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 92–9.
 - 23 Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (London, 1981), 145.
 - 24 E.g. Tanis, *L'Or des Pharaons* (Paris, 1987), 206–7, 268.
 - 25 Note, however, that a heart-scarab bearing the name of a king Userma⁴atrē⁵, and hence probably made in the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty, was found reused on the mummy of Wendjebaendjed in the tomb of Psusennes I: P. Montet, *Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psousennès à Tanis* (Paris, 1951), 75–6 (no. 718). The adoption of such items, not of precious metal, was probably motivated by pious rather than economic considerations; see above, p. 198–9.
 - 26 Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*, 54–5, 60 and n. 20.
 - 27 Restoration text on mummy-board British Museum EA 15659; British Museum, *A Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms* (London, 1924), 50–1.
 - 28 For the discovery: E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1925), 212.
 - 29 Niwiński, *op. cit.* 166 (no. 343).
 - 30 Id., *op. cit.* 13, believes that many New Kingdom coffins were reused in the Twenty-first Dynasty and given a new coating of decoration, but this view is based on a very small number of examples and is not sufficient to account for the phenomenon.
 - 31 E. Brock, 'The Tomb of Merenptah and its Sarcophagi', see above, 122–40.
 - 32 Brock, *op. cit.* 133–138.
 - 33 Brock, *op. cit.* 122. H. Sourouzzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), 183–4, suggests that the Psusennes sarcophagus may originally have been installed, not in KV 8, but in the Osireion at Abydos, as part of Merenptah's additions to the structure. An objection to the theory is the existence of the curious secondary 'slots' hollowed out of the underside of the lid of Merenptah's second sarcophagus, which may well have been made to accommodate the projecting end-pieces of the sarcophagus usurped for Psusennes: Brock, *op. cit.* 126.
 - 34 Daressy, *Cercueils*, 50, 56.
 - 35 Niwiński, *op. cit.* 40.
 - 36 Romer, *op. cit.* 144–5.
 - 37 Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster 1972), 582–9, §§ 215–6.
 - 38 Id., *op. cit.* 259, §. 216; cf. Niwiński, *op. cit.* 41–2.
 - 39 Kitchen, *op. cit.* 21, 259, §§. 17, 216.

- 40 E. Young, 'Some Notes on the Chronology and Genealogy of the Twenty-first Dynasty', *JARCE* 2 (1963), 101–4; Kitchen, op. cit. 78, 260, §§. 62, 217.
- 41 Kitchen, op. cit. 68–9, 260–1, §§. 55, 217.
- 42 Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: Supplement* (Warminster 1986), 570–1, §. 499.
- 43 Reeves, op. cit. 277.
- 44 I am indebted to Dr C. N. Reeves for drawing this piece to my attention and for providing many valuable comments on it. The figure is to be published by D. A. Aston, 'Two Osiris figures of the Third Intermediate Period', *JEA* 77 (1991), 95–107 pls. 5–8.
- 45 W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd edn. (London, 1972), 252.
- 46 P. A. Clayton, 'Royal Bronze Shawabti Figures', *JEA* 58 (1972), 168, n. 1, 171; J.F. and L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes, Chaouabtis, Ouchehtis* (Paris, 1974), 82.
- 47 This is mentioned in a description of the figure in the register of acquisitions for 1883, in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, the British Museum. It is now missing.
- 48 The figure belongs to Type I B in M. J. Raven's classification: 'Papyrus-sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues', *OMRO* 59/60 (1978–9), 258–60. Whereas Raven sees this as a relatively early type of figure, Aston, op. cit., has argued persuasively that it is later in date than Raven's Type II and Type I C, probably having developed in the late tenth century BC.
- 49 Both the statuette of Amenmose and the papyrus which it contained were formerly in the Anastasi Collection. The papyrus is now in the museum at Tallinn: Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th centuries BC* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1989), 365. Niwiński's attribution of the papyrus to the Twenty-second Dynasty agrees with the date suggested here for the Osiris figure.
- 50 Examination of the base under infra-red and ultra-violet light failed to reveal any trace of a text.
- 51 Cited, Niwiński, op. cit. 1.
- 52 The possibility that some copies might date to the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasties remains unconfirmed; T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (SAOC 37) (Chicago, 1974), 215, n. 336.
- 53 For BD 166 (Pleyte): W. Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 164–174. Traduction et Commentaire* (Leiden, 1881), 50–66; cf. T. G. Allen, op. cit. 215–6; J. Černý, 'Le caractère des *oushebtis* d'après les idées du Nouvel Empire', *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 118–33; J. Yoyotte, 'Contribution à l'histoire du chapitre 162 du Livre des Morts', *RdE* 29 (1977), 196–8. A list of examples of this text is given by M. Bellion, *Egypte ancienne. Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, et des dessins, sur papyrus, cuir ou tissu, publiés ou signalés* (Paris, 1987), 478.
- 54 Niwiński, op. cit. 1.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Cf. Yoyotte, op. cit. 198. Note also the reuse of the heart-scarab of the King Userma'atrē in the burial of Wendjebaendjed at Tanis (above, n. 25). The presence of such an object in the burial of a high-ranking official of the Twenty-first Dynasty lends credibility to the hypothesis that items were taken from the mummies of the New Kingdom pharaohs during their restoration: Yoyotte, op. cit. 200. This is another example in which the virtue of the royal name seems to have provided the motive for the reuse.
- 57 H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen*, II (London, 1927), 119.
- 58 R. van Walsem, *The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden: I, Technical and Iconographic Aspects* (Leiden, 1988), 341–60.
- 59 Niwiński, op. cit. 178–9, 234–5. It is interesting to note that the New Kingdom royal

- tombs in the Valley appear to have provided the model for these later copies of the *Imy Duat*. It has been suggested that the version on the east wall of the burial chamber of Amenophis II was the actual model for the earliest and most influential of the Twenty-first Dynasty *Imy-Duat* copies; Niwiński, op. cit. 179, 234–5.
- 60 van Walsem, op. cit. 342.
- 61 Kitchen, op. cit. 288, §. 243.
- 62 M. Ciccarello and J. Romer, op. cit. 2, fig. 3–4.
- 63 Cited, Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 151; cf. Reeves, op. cit. 134.
- 64 PM I, ii², 587; Reeves, op. cit. 39–40.
- 65 The name of the man, mentioned on the coffin fragment found by Jiro Kondo, appears to read *P3-di-Hr-rsnt*, not *P3-di-Hr*, as given by PM (Jiro Kondo, personal communication).
- 66 Thomas, op. cit. 82–3.
- 67 O. J. Schaden, ‘Preliminary Report on the Re-Clearance of Tomb 25 in the Western Valley of the Kings (WV-25)’, *ASAE* 63 (1979), 164–5.
- 68 Thomas, op. cit. 83; Schaden, op. cit. 164–8.
- 69 G. Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo, 1912), 116, pl. XCVI; Reeves, op. cit. 23, 24.
- 70 Carter, ‘Report on Tomb-pit opened on the 26th January 1901’, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 144–5, pl. I–II.
- 71 Carter, ‘Report on General Work done in the southern Inspectorate’, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 46.
- 72 Reeves, op. cit. 78, 91, 104, 107, 111, 115, 115–7, 153, 154, 155.
- 73 Other burials may have been deposited in the Valley during his reign, on the evidence of loose leather mummy braces bearing his cartouches; PM, loc. cit. 588.
- 74 The earliest dated example is the cartonnage Harvard, Semitic Museum, 2230, which contained a mummy bearing leather braces on which were the names of Shoshenq I; S. T. Hollis, ‘The Cartonnage case of Pa-di-mut, Harvard Semitic Museum 2230’, in: *‘Working with no data’: Semitic and Egyptian Studies presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (Winona Lake, 1987), 165.
- 75 PM, loc. cit. 770–1. The stylistic and epigraphic features of the coffins suggest that these intrusive burials began about the end of the eighth century and continued for a hundred years or more.

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